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ORANGEISM:

ITS HISTORY
and PROGRESS.

A Plea for First Principles.



DUBLIN :

The OFFICIAL GUIDE, LTD., Printers, No. 25 Bachelor's Walk.



BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.—From Tapestry in House of Lords, College Green.

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23 Bachelor's Walk.

RB DA938, \$526 1904x

Acc. 95-330

Preface



This pamphlet is published by the Independent Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, in the hope that the recital of some facts in connection with the past history of Orangeism, and the causes relative to the present unhappy divisions in its ranks, may bear fruit in a more widespread appreciation of, and attachment to, first principles, in which alone true unity can be found.

(Signed), R LINDSAY CRAWFORD, I.G.M., } Independent Grand
E. BRAITHWAITE, Grand Sec., } Lodge of Ireland.

July 12th, 1904.

Introduction

The establishment of the Independent Orange Institution, and the circumstances which led to its formation, have, not unnaturally, revived public interest in the history and principles of Orangeism, and raised conjectures in the minds of many outside its ranks as to its future prospects. Some express the opinion that this crisis is the beginning of the end of an obsolete Institution ; that its day of usefulness has passed, that it has come to the end of its programme, and has no longer an intelligible policy. These opinions arise from two causes—(1) An imperfect knowledge of the history of Orangeism, and (2) the false impressions which the errors of the Orange Institution in recent years have created as to its foundation principles. To place Orangeism in its true light is the object, primarily, of this pamphlet. Not only outside the ranks of Orangeism, but among the members of the parent Order, there is a lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles, and of the destiny, of Orangeism. Charter sentiments, and empty shibboleths, too often take the place of a well-defined creed in the Orange Lodge ; and the Orange speech which does not end in “ No Surrender ! ” or a proud allusion to “ Derry, Aughrim, and the Boyne,” scarcely evokes a cheer. The result has been to weaken the influence of Orangeism among intelligent thinking men, and to keep outside its ranks the professional, mercantile, and farming classes.

Intelligent men despise a cause which lives only in the past ; and they might well despair of the future, if Orangemen contented themselves with lingering on the banks of the Boyne, and applauding the victories of their ancestors. This is an age of questioning, and of the sifting of doctrine, and there are signs of a general return to fundamental principles.

It is charged, for instance, against Orangeism that its creed is Protestant Ascendancy ! In these degenerate days political leaders endeavour to minimise, or seek altogether to ignore, the existence of Protestant ascendancy—forgetting that it is the keystone of our Constitution ! In addition to the ascendancy of liberty over bondage, of industry over sloth, of the results of industry over poverty—there is also the ascendancy of loyalty over disloyalty, of our Protestant Constitution over Papal pretensions. If it be bigotry and intolerance to deny to the Roman Catholic Church a State-Endowed University, how much greater must be the bigotry and intolerance which maintains the Act of Settlement and the Coronation Oath ? Our Laws and Constitution place the Roman Catholic and Protestant citizen on the same plane. In all that pertains to the civil and religious liberty of the individual, no distinction is, or ought to be, made. In all that pertains to the Roman Catholic Church, and to the Protestant Religion, the State is bound by the Protestant Constitution. It is this great historic fact of Protestant ascendancy that Orangemen are pledged to maintain.

No one can visit the cradle of Orangeism—Ulster—without being deeply impressed by the external evidences of Protestant ascendancy—the temporal blessings of Protestantism. Sir Horace Plunkett, in his book *Ireland in the New Century*, bears convincing testimony to the economic supremacy of Protestantism :—

“ Protestantism has its strongh'ld in the great industrial centres of the North and among the Presbyterian farmers of five or six Ulster counties. These communities, it is significant to note, have developed the essentially strenuous qualities which, no doubt,

they brought from England and Scotland. In city life, their thrift, industry, and enterprise, unsurpassed in the United Kingdom, have built up a world-wide commerce. In rural life they have drawn the largest yield from relatively inferior soil. Such, in brief, is the achievement of Ulster Protestantism in the realm of industry. It is a story of which, when a united Ireland becomes more than a dream, all Irishmen will be proud.

“North and South have each virtues which the other lacks; each has much to learn from the other; but the home of the strictly civic virtues and efficiencies is in Protestant Ireland.”

Of the religion of the majority, this leader of economic thought writes:—

“Roman Catholicism strikes an outsider as being in some of its tendencies non-economic, if not actually anti-economic. These tendencies have, of course, much fuller play when they act on a people whose education has (through no fault of their own), been retarded or stunted. The fact is not in dispute, but the difficulty arises when we come to apportion the blame between ignorance on the part of the people, and a somewhat one-sided religious zeal on the part of large numbers of their clergy. I do not seek to do so with any precision here. I am simply adverting to what has appeared to me, in the course of my experience in Ireland, to be a defect in the industrial character of Roman Catholics which, however caused, *seems to me to have been intensified by their religion*. The reliance of that religion on authority, its repression of individuality, and its complete shifting of what I may call the human centre of gravity to a future existence—to mention no other characteristics—appear to me calculated, unless supplemented by other influences, *to check the growth of the qualities of initiative and self-reliance*. . . . Again, the three thousand (Roman Catholic) clergymen . . . exercise an influence over their flocks not merely in regard to religious matters, but in almost every phase of their lives and conduct, which is, in its extent and character, quite unique, even, I should say, amongst Roman Catholic communities.

Excessive and extravagant church building in the heart, and at the expense of poor communities, is a recent and notorious example of . . . misdirected zeal.

But it is not alone the extravagant church building which, in a country so backward as Ireland, shocks the economic sense. The multiplication—in inverse ratio to a declining population—of costly and elaborate monastic and conventual institutions, involving what in the aggregate must be an enormous annual expenditure for maintenance, is difficult to reconcile with the known conditions of the country; their growth in number and size is anomalous. I cannot believe that so large an addition to the unproductive classes is economically sound, and *I have no doubt at all that the competition with lay teachers of celibates living in community is excessive and educationally injurious*. Strongly as I hold the importance of religion in education, I personally do not think that teachers who have renounced the world, and withdrawn from contact with its stress and strain, are the best moulders of the characters of youths who will have to come into direct conflict with the trials and temptations of life.”

“With their unquestioned authority in religion and their

almost equally undisputed influence in education, *the Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exonerated from some responsibility in regard to Irish character as we find it to-day.* Are they, I would ask, satisfied with that character? I cannot think so. The impartial observer will, I fear, find amongst a majority of our (R. C.) people a striking absence of self-reliance and moral courage, an entire lack of serious thought on public questions, a listlessness and apathy in regard to economic improvement which amount to a form of fatalism, and in backward districts a survival of superstition which saps all strength of will and purpose; and all this, too, amongst a people singularly gifted by nature with good qualities of mind and heart."

The egregious blunder is too often made by leaders of public thought, of ignoring facts as they find them. In Ireland especially it is impossible to live above the clouds and initiate practical reforms. We must take Ireland as it is, not as we dream of it. Broadly, then, two great influences are at work in this country. They have been defined by the *Freeman's Journal* in the following pregnant words:—

"We contend that the good government of Ireland by England is impossible, not so much by reason of natural obstacles, but because of the radical essential difference in the public order of the two countries. This, considered in the abstract, makes a gulf profound, impassable, an obstacle which no human ingenuity can overcome. It is that one people (Roman Catholic) is Christian and the other (Protestant) non-Christian. . . . They cannot freely exist in the same society. . . . The one people has not only accepted, but retained with inviolable constancy, the Christian idea, the other has not only rejected it, but has been for three centuries the leader of the great apostasy, and is at this day the principal obstacle to the conversion of the world."—*Freeman's Journal*, 18th February, 1886.

The prospectus of the *Catholic Association*, which was drafted and published under the personal direction of the Dominican Order in Dublin—the Holy Inquisitors of the Church of Rome—was equally explicit as to what should constitute the sole national influence in the building up of Irish nationhood:—

"A nation can never permanently prosper unless it develops of its own motion from within. How can our own country develop from within, save upon Irish and Catholic lines?"

It is a fortunate coincidence that the national claims of Roman Catholicism, as put forward by the Dominicans through the *Catholic Association*, should have so largely occupied public attention on the eve of Sir Horace Plunkett's economic and national indictment of that system. So long as the Church of Rome advances political and religious claims, which aim at the extermination of Protestantism, so long will it be necessary for Protestants to organise on a common platform in defence of their rights.

The circumstances which led to the present unhappy division among Orangemen are not generally known or understood, even in Orange circles. Calumny and misrepresentation have pictured the Independent Orangemen as the dregs of society, and as "renegades"; but men who employ such weapons are fighting a losing battle. It is more and more understood that questions of discipline played a very unimportant part in the present movement; and that the revolt of the Orangemen, who now form the Independent Order, had its origin in a deep-rooted antagonism to the sacerdotal and reactionary policy of the present Government, with which the Orange Institution is, through its Parliamentary leaders, so closely allied. The proclamation of the Rostrevor meeting was the initial cause of the disruption in the Orange ranks, and precipitated a crisis between two parties

in the Order which was bound to come sooner or later. Irish history during the past seventy years may be summed up under the head of Religion and Land. These two questions lie at the root of Irish disaffection and disunion, and have raised an insurmountable barrier between the two Irelands. Had the Land Question appeared on the stage of Irish politics unaccompanied by the nefarious proposals of the Land League and the priests, for the extermination of landlordism as the prop of English rule, and as representing Protestant opposition to Home Rule in this country, the North would have joined hands with the South in demanding a settlement of the admitted grievances of the tenant farmers. The Orange Institution on many platforms bore testimony in the early 'Eighties that within its ranks were men who were dissatisfied with the relations between landlord and tenant, and anxious to free the land from the incubus of landlordism. So strong was this feeling, that Orange farmers were only kept from open hostility by resolutions on public platforms embodying their views. But they were only resolutions, and never intended to be put into force. In the early days of the Tenant-Right movement in Ulster, numbers of Orangemen voted for the Liberal candidates, and were, in consequence, expelled the Order. During the Land League days there were numerous defections of Orange farmers; and the criminal blunder of linking the Land Question to Home Rule alone saved the Orange Institution from disaster. In 1880, and succeeding years, numbers joined the Orange Institution as offering a vantage ground from which to fight the Land League, and protect their lives and properties. Many of these men had been openly hostile to Orangeism in former times, and they brought with them into the Order all their defects and prejudices. To them the Orange Institution was a well-equipped political machine, and they accordingly obtained and filled ex-officio seats in the Grand Lodge, and controlled its destinies, secure from the influence of a popular vote. The troublous times favoured their designs, and the Orange Institution became the tool of landlords and their agents, and earned for itself the hatred and opprobrium of Irish Roman Catholics by its Emergency work. From its high platform of a strictly religious and constitutional organisation, it descended to the ignoble level of the evictor, process-server, and land agent's bailiff. When the crisis had passed, Orangemen realised that the landlords who had joined their ranks had only one clause in their Orange creed—"the existing rights of property"—and any attempt to direct the energies of the Institution into its legitimate Protestant channels, was found to clash with Tory party interests, more important in the eyes of these men whose promotion came from Westminster. Once more in the history of the Order, the political side was emphasised to the prejudice of Orange principles; and there ensued a struggle between the two parties which has ended—as all struggles for first principles end—in division, and in a reform movement outside the parent Order.

The unrepresentative character of the Grand Lodge of the parent Order, and its autocratic sway over men who have no controlling influence in its *personnel*, is a gross anomaly in an age of popular suffrage, and renders reform from within impossible.

Colonel Saunderson has attempted to prove that the Orange Institution is thoroughly representative and democratic, in the following letter to the *Belfast News-Letter*, on February 2nd, 1903; but his statements are absolutely incorrect and cannot be sustained.

"SIR,—All great organisations have, from time to time, to face dangers and difficulties, not only from without, but also from within. The latter are by far the most serious. Dangers from without, as a rule, tend to consolidate and strengthen an organisation, provided always that organisation rests on a just foundation; whereas dangers from within its ranks threaten its very existence. It appears to me

that the Orange Institution is at present menaced by an internal danger, which may lead, if unchecked, to its destruction as a political power in the State. . . . Our political opponents, to judge from their newspapers, appear to be under the impression that the recent events in Belfast are signs of a revolt against landlords and aristocrats—the masses against the classes. They are ignorant of the fact that the Orange organisation is built on thoroughly democratic lines. We, Orangemen, are no respectors of persons. In Orangeism we acknowledge no class or social distinction. We are brethren. Our officers are elected year by year. Should an officer be found wanting he can be replaced at the will of the brethren. Furthermore, Orangemen have perfect freedom to side with any political party they choose, without any interference or dictation from their Grand Lodge, provided they remain loyal to the Crown and the Protestant faith. No Grand Lodge is authorised by the laws of the Institution to attempt interference with an Orangeman's freedom of political action within the limits I have named.—Your obedient Servant,

“EDWARD SAUNDERSON.”

In addition to the land, is the question of religion. Here, too, a party tinge has been imparted to the religious principles of Orangeism by the close connection which has always existed between the Order and the Church of Ireland. Orangemen were formerly pledged to maintain the Established Church on Constitutional lines. Disestablishment has altered the obligation of the Orangeman, but it has not weakened in any way the paramount influence of that Church in the Order. Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen are not largely represented in the Order, and the result is that the clergy of the Church of Ireland form, with the landlords, a preponderating influence, which has always been directed to the suppression of any inquiry into, or condemnation of, ritualistic practices in the Church of Ireland. It was clearly impossible that these opposing influences could long remain in the bonds of fraternal unity. When to these grave fundamental differences is added the traditional alliance between Orangeism and Toryism, and the scandalous betrayal of Irish Protestants by the latter, it must be evident that an opportunity, however slight, was only wanting to fan the flame of dissatisfaction and revolt which had long been manifest in the ranks. The opportunity came at Castlereagh on the 12th July, 1902. The Rostrevor meeting had been proclaimed; the Government had put Ulster loyalty to a supreme test; and the support given the Government by the Ulster Tory Party, and the neglect, by the latter, of Protestant interests in the House of Commons, brought matters in the Orange Institution to a climax. The storm burst, and Mr. T. H. Sloan followed up his interruptions at Castlereagh by defeating the Landlord and Conservative nominee in South Belfast. An account is given of this event, for, although it was but the spark that set the train in motion, the victory of Mr. Sloan marks an important stage in the history of Orangeism.

It will be particularly noted that Mr. Sloan's action at Castlereagh, in giving public expression to the dissatisfaction of Orangemen at the conduct of the Ulster representatives, was repeated on Orange platforms in Colonel Saunderson's constituency on the same day.

The Independent Orange Institution marks the revolt of Protestant democracy against the incompetent ruling classes, and is a return to the first principles of Orangeism. The Orange Institution has been on the defensive for the past seventy years, and has been driven step by step from its outer fortifications. An army always on the defensive is bound to capitulate. The times demand an aggressive Protestantism and a positive creed; and Ireland needs the constructive genius of all her sons in the great work

of national regeneration. Orange principles have been obscured and misrepresented in the past by men who had no sympathy with the objects of the Institution. Constitutional and progressive in its creed, it has been forced to submerge itself in the reactionary Tory party. What has been the result? In self-defence, on the lowest party grounds, the Liberals have been provoked to crush opposition by weakening Protestantism! How different is the policy of the Church of Rome? Mr. John Redmond, in an introduction to "*One Hundred Years of Irish History*," by Barry O'Brien, says:—

"The Irish members have one advantage over English parties—they know their own minds. They know what they want. The present Government is in a state of bewilderment in Ireland. His Majesty's Opposition is in a state of bewilderment everywhere. Ireland has faith neither in Government nor in Opposition. She is watching the political situation in England with keenness, and she will not fail, when the opportunity offers, to turn it to good account. The Government have slipped their old moorings in Ireland. They have abandoned their old friends and their old principles, and they have found no new ones. They have given up the garrison, but they have not won the Nationalists. They have created universal distrust. The landlords do not believe in them. The Roman Catholics do not believe in them. The Protestants do not believe in them. They are estranging the English interests without conciliating the Irish. Nevertheless, they are floundering into Home Rule, without knowing it: and before long they will find themselves face to face with the issue—Crown Colony or an Irish Parliament."

Do not these words go home to every Irish Protestant, as alas, only too true? The Rev. Peter Finlay, S.J., in an address delivered at the annual meeting of the *Roman Catholic Truth Society* in December last voiced the opinion of his Church, when he said:—

"I do not conceive that there is any recognised party in the State to which a [Roman] Catholic may not lawfully belong; there is nothing in our religion to identify us exclusively with Toryism, Unionism, or Home Rule."

One of the main planks of the *Catholic Association* is its exclusion of party politics; and under it the

"Roman Catholic Unionist is as welcome as any one else. Sound [Roman] Catholicism is the only necessary condition of membership."

Equally true is it that in the Orange Institution there is nothing to exclude the Liberal or to identify the organisation with any particular party. Orangeism was originally founded on the truest principles of Liberalism—principles which, in their practical adaptation to the growth of the nation, have made for enlightenment, freedom and progress. Circumstances have conspired to place Orangeism in a false position in Ireland. As reorganised in 1845, Orangeism came forward to champion two causes—the "rights of property" and the "Established Church." Disestablishment and Land Purchase have removed both these great objects as they were generally understood; and what remains of Orangeism—its foundation principles, the Protestant religion and the Protestant Throne—are equally to be maintained by the application of the principles of true Liberalism. The principles of Orangeism have had no greater foe during the past decade than the Conservative party. They it was who endeavoured to sequester the Erasmus Smith Endowment, establish a Roman Catholic University, abolish the King's Declaration, and who have humiliated and betrayed Irish Protestants in a vain attempt to conciliate Ultramontanes. Orangeism, by subordinating its principles to the necessities of the Conservative party, has destroyed its power and influence in the State, and forced Liberalism to work out

national reform in alliance with Roman Catholics and infidels. No one can look to Continental nations, and not shrink from the consequences which must ensue in England were Protestantism to stand always on the defensive, and not lead in the van of national reforms ! The Church of Rome is a vast political organisation as well as a Church, and no organisation of Protestants can successfully withstand her designs, which leaves Rome free to form a balance of power between political parties. To teach and propagate those principles—both religious and political—which spring from the Reformation and from the Glorious Revolution, and to press for their embodiment in the laws and institutions of the country, are the paramount ends to which Orangemen should devote their efforts. No observer of current events will have the hardihood to assert that these objects are favoured by the party with which the Orange Institution is now allied ! The unprejudiced reader will thus see that, as in all great reform movements, the immediate causes of division in the ranks of the Orange Institution were but the accidents of a widespread revolt against the departure from first principles which marked the policy of the Grand Lodge. The formation of the Independent Orange Institution, whatever it may portend, is evidence that its founders believe in Orangeism, and are determined to maintain and propagate its principles. The differences in the Orange ranks are fundamental, and no useful purpose can at present be served by merely bewailing the division. If Protestants are led to inquire more fully into the history and principles of Orangeism, and to sympathise with its aims and objects ; and if Orangemen are induced to reflect more seriously and intelligently on the position which they occupy in this country as soldiers in the vanguard of Protestantism, the present crisis will not have been an unmixed evil ; and re-union, when it does come, will not be a dull, mechanical uniformity, but a living, active association of intelligent men “attached to the principles of the Reformation.” To hasten that day, it is necessary to educate public opinion as to the differences which now separate Orangemen, and which can only be healed by an intelligent appreciation of, and return to, first principles.



ORANGEISM: Its History and Progress.

Chapter I.—1688-1798.

Before entering into the history of Orangeism, it is well to bear in mind the great events which led up to the Glorious Revolution. The seventeenth century opened with the Gunpowder Plot. The Protestants on the Continent were harassed, persecuted, murdered, and exiled. Europe was overrun with the Inquisitorial hordes of the Papacy, and every device which satanic ingenuity could suggest was resorted to, in the hope of exterminating the Reformed Religion. In Ireland, in 1641, 300,000 Protestants were butchered in cold blood. In England, Charles II. had secretly joined the Church of Rome; and, three days after James II. had mounted the Throne, and sworn to maintain the Protestant religion, he went publicly to Mass. So unscrupulous was James II. in his determination to Romanise England, that Pope Innocent XI. wrote cautioning him against his precipitate acts and over zeal, which, *"instead of contributing to his own greatness and the advancement of religion, would both do himself and the Catholic religion the greatest prejudice by attempting that which could never succeed."*

The King was not to be restrained, however, in his headlong career, and he openly flouted the rights and liberties of his Protestant subjects. He filled all offices with his Jesuit allies. Parliament was dissolved, and the King took upon himself absolute authority. The laws of the realm were thus openly violated and the solemn compact between Throne and People broken. The doctrine of Divine Right once more superseded constitutional Government, and Protestantism was publicly proscribed.

The licentious Louis, who was harassing the Protestants on the Continent, became the ally of James, and, under the sacred banner of Religion, these Sovereigns prosecuted their satanic schemes for the extermination of "heretics." It was at this crisis in the history of the Reformation that the Orange Institution first saw the light.

The history of Orangeism is the history of the English

nation since the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay on that fateful day, 5th November, 1688. No Protestant organisation has, since that period, played such a conspicuous part in the religious and political life of the country.

The Association which bears the name of the great Deliverer was established in 1688, at Exeter. On landing, in urgent response to the wishes of English Protestant leaders, William found, to his chagrin, that the gentry, on whose support and loyalty he had counted, held aloof; and he was so disappointed at the unexpected cowardice of those who had been clamouring for relief from the Papal tyranny of James II., and his Jesuit and French advisers, that he determined to re-embark and return to Holland. Then, as now, men's allegiance to principles and their practical adaptability to the necessities of the times, could only be effectively maintained by organisation; and it was suggested by Sir Edward Seymour that, without an organisation, they were only a "rope of sand," and that, if such were formed on definite lines, to which men could intelligently and conscientiously pledge their adherence, support would at once be forthcoming. Accordingly, Dr. Burnett drew up the following Declaration as the basis of loyalty to William's standard:—

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joined the Prince of Orange for the defence of the Protestant religion; and for the maintaining the ancient government and the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland; do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince and to one another, to stick firm to this cause in the defence of it, and never to depart from it till our religion, laws, and liberties are so far secured to us in a free Parliament that they shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and slavery."

From that moment William's cause gained strength daily; and those who had hitherto held aloof flocked in to sign the Declaration, and swell the number of William's followers. The powerful influence which this Orange Association had on the fortunes of Protestantism may be judged by a letter which James II. sent to the Earl of Feversham previous to his flight:—

"I hope you will keep yourselves (officers and soldiers) free from associations, and such pernicious things."

Again, in 1696, when the plot to assassinate King William was discovered, the association formed at Exeter, at a time of national peril, was revived by the Commons; and the Declaration of Association, engrossed on vellum, was laid on the table of the House, and signed by all the members of Parliament. This was the second stage in the history of Orangeism. The Orange Association, as established at Exeter in 1688, and revived by Parliament in 1696, continued in existence in various

forms, and under different names, so late as 1743, when a lodge of the "Loyal Society of the Blue and Orange" was in operation.

The next step in the history of the Institution brings us to the Battle of the Diamond, in 1795. From 1757 to 1795 Ireland was in a state of anarchy; and Protestants suffered the most bitter persecution at the hands of organised bands of Roman Catholics, known as *Hearts of Oak*, *Hearts of Steel*, *Defenders*, *Shanavists*, *Caravats*, *Threshers*, *Carders*, *United Irishmen*, *Whiteboys*, and *Ribbonmen*. The atrocities of the Defenders resulted in the famous Battle of the Diamond, fought near Loughgall, Co. Armagh, on 21st September, 1795; when the rebels, who were 12 to 1, were defeated, with a loss of 48 killed. The first lodge of the modern Orange Institution was formed on the field of battle, and rapidly spread throughout Ulster. It proved so effective that wherever established, the rebellion of 1798 was not only abortive, but the services of the Orange Yeomanry were placed at the disposal of the Government. The offer was accepted, and the Commanding Officers of the Royal forces, the Lords and Commons, and the King's representative in Ireland, thanked the Orangemen for their loyal co-operation and assistance at a critical period.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Blacker, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Orange Lodges on the 4th August, 1835, on the circumstances which led to the formation of the Orange Institution in 1795 was asked :—

Was the first Orange Lodge formed then?

It was.

Where?

I understand it was formed in the house of a man named Sloan, in the village of Loughgall. Asked what the effect of the Orange Institution had been, Lieutenant Colonel Blacker replied :—

"I consider, in the first place, that the establishment of Orange Lodges was the first thing that checked the march of republicanism and rebellion in the North of Ireland, when the United Irishmen were on foot; they afforded a rallying point for the loyalty of the country. I consider they have been productive of various advantages; besides, from a moral and religious point of view, I am sure that the discipline of those Lodges has gone far to prevent many young men from falling into vice of different kinds, such as intoxication. They had a character to support, and felt that they had a character to support. I am sure it brought many to read God's Word and to attend God's worship, who but for that, would have been ignorant and idle."

There are good reasons to believe that Orangeism was in existence down to the *Battle of the Diamond*, but disorganised and ineffective. This is clearly shown by the immediate determination of the victors to put the Orange Association once more

on a proper working basis. The first warrant was signed by James Sloan under the following circumstances :—

“A few days after the struggle at the Diamond some persons from that locality came to Loughgall for the purpose of procuring from Sloan the necessary authority for admitting members into their lodge. Being in his garden at the time, Sloan directed them to the village to procure writing materials. During their absence James Wilson, on a similar errand, arrived from the Dian. On being informed that there was neither pen nor ink, he at once replied : ‘ If that be all, I can provide against that, and ’tis best, for the first Orange warrant shall not be written by anything made by the hand of man ; and, taking a sprig from a tree of hyssop which grew in the garden, he handed it, together with the cover of a letter, to Sloan, who, being taken aback at the novelty of the proceeding, incautiously signed the paper, thus establishing the claim of the Dian men to a number which, by right, should never have left the vicinity of the field of battle.”—*Roger’s Revolution of 1688.*

It may be asked at this stage, what were the principles of Orangeism at this period, and how were they defined ? Orangeism was very clearly defined in the Declaration drawn up at Exeter ; and afterwards more fully inscribed on the statute book of the realm under the title of the “ Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement.”

The Reformation had its full consummation in these countries in the Glorious Revolution. William III. built on the foundation of the Reformers, and allied the State to great principles from which have sprung England’s national and Imperial greatness. The fundamental principles of the Reformation were, in their historic order :—

I. No Pope between the Sovereign and his subjects.

II. No priest between the sinner and his Saviour.

These bed-rock principles, so essential to human liberty and to national progress, had no definite and abiding place in the written Constitution of England, if we except the King’s Declaration, until the overthrow of James II. ; when the Protestant religion and the liberties of England were safeguarded by statute law, and hedged about with divers securities.

In 1688 and 1696 the religious principles of Orangeism were intelligibly grasped by the people ; but in 1795 the maintenance of the Constitution, and the protection of life and property no longer adequately afforded by the State were, no doubt, the immediate objects in view in the re-establishment of the Orange Association, and formed the basis of its constitution. But, while the stirring events of that period—the revolution on the Continent, and the organised rebellion in Ireland—may have directed particular attention to the primary duties of society—the protection of life and property—the fact that Papal intolerance was leagued with

the armed forces of anarchy and revolution, for the overthrow of Protestantism in this country, was ever present in the minds of the Orangemen of that period. As in 1688, so in 1795, the issues were the same—civil and religious liberty:—

“To stick firm to this [Orange] cause in the defence of it, and never to depart from it, till our religion, laws, and liberties are so far secured to us in a free Parliament that they shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and slavery.”

In the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth, the organised oppression of Protestants by the Church of Rome forced the former to combine for the protection of common rights. The movement was dictated by defensive rather than by offensive motives, and spread so rapidly that, in 1798, 30,000 Orange Yeomanry were reviewed by General Knox at Lurgan, who reported to the Government of the day that the Institution could be relied on in the hour of danger.

It was at this crisis that the Orange Institution stood out once more as the loyal supporter of the Government, and of the Constitution. So deeply had the crisis of the times impressed itself upon the Order that, in 1800, when the Act of Union was carried, the Orange leaders gave as the reason why the Order, *per se*, had taken no part in this great constitutional change—“that the Orange Institution being founded for the purpose of suppressing insurrection, did not wish to mix itself up in other questions.”



Chapter II.—1798-1845.

Up to 1798 the Orange Institution lacked cohesion, and steps were taken in that year to establish closer relations between the different lodges, and to form a central body for purposes of correspondence. A meeting was accordingly held in Dublin on the 8th March, 1798, to consider the best mode of organising the Orangemen of Ireland "in support of their King and Glorious Constitution." There were present :—

WILLIAM BLACKER, G.M., Armagh.

SERGEANTS LITTLE, M'CLEAN, HOLMES, DOUGLAS, and SINCLAIR, Armagh.

MAJOR MOLESWORTH, and CAPTAIN MOORE, Cavan.

THOMAS VERNER, G.M., Tyrone, Londonderry, and Fermanagh.

CAPTAIN BERESFORD, Dublin Cavalry.

SERGEANTS HUGHES, HAMILTON, GIBSON, and GILCHRIST, Cavan.

EDWARD BALL, J. DEGONCOURT, Fermanagh.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROCHFORD, Fermanagh.

SERGEANT-MAJOR GALLOGLEY and SERGEANT PRICE, Fermanagh.

Thomas Verner having been called to the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :—

"That it is highly advisable that a proper correspondence should be forthwith instituted between the different Orange Lodges in this Kingdom."

"That it is advisable that a Grand Lodge should be formed for that purpose to be held in Dublin."

"That this Lodge be called the 'Grand Lodge of Ireland' for correspondence and information."

"For the purpose of carrying the above resolutions into effect, that each County be divided into districts by the Grand Master and Master of the County."

"That it is advisable that at the first meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland should be on Monday, 9th April, 1798, to be held at the house of Thomas Verner, Esq., of Dawson Street, Dublin, G.M. of the Counties of Londonderry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh."

"That a copy of these resolutions should be sent to every Lodge in Ireland."

(Signed) THOMAS VERNER, Chairman.

After the Emancipation Act of 1829 had been added to the statute book, the Church of Rome redoubled her political activities, and in 1835 a Parliamentary Committee was formed to enquire into the objects and methods of the Orange Institution. The Committee included Dan O'Connell, Wyse, Finn, Sheil and O'Loughlen, Roman Catholic leaders, but nothing was discovered in the Order except that it employed signs and pass-words, and was exclusive in its religious creed, being confined to Protestants. There is good reason to fear that at this period the Orange Institution had passed largely out of the controlling influence of

those who stood at its cradle in 1795, and that it was manipulated for political and partizan purposes by those high in authority. The centre of gravity had shifted to England ; and its Grand Master was Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, brother of the King, who used the Institution to further his own designs, and ruled the Grand Lodge with autocratic sway. Following the resolution of the Commons, and the reply from the Throne discouraging the Orange Institution, these men, who were only serving their own personal ends, and using the Institution for political purposes, were the first to desert the Institution in its hour of unpopularity, and to counsel the dissolution of the Grand Lodge. The private lodges throughout the country refused to follow the lead of the Grand Lodge, and although the Grand Lodge ceased to exist, Orangeism continued in active operation among the humbler classes. The Book of the Laws and Ordinances of 1828 contained the oaths required by candidates for the Orange Order, and there is nothing in these to which any loyal man could object. After the Preamble and Qualification, which remain substantially the same to the present time, the "Oath of Allegiance," the "Oath of Supremacy," the "Oath of Abjuration," and the "Declaration against Transubstantiation" are given. The Oath of Allegiance was :—

"That I, A B, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fourth."

The "Oath of Supremacy" was directed against Papal authority, and declared :—

"That no foreign prince, person, prelate, State, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence and authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

The "Oath of Abjuration" was directed against the heirs of "the late King James the Second," in which the candidate swore "to renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to any of them." The "Declaration against Transubstantiation" (30th Car. II., stat. 2, sec. 3), was the same as the King's Declaration, of which we have recently heard so much, and which the enemies of our Protestant Constitution are so anxious to have altered into a colourless and meaningless declaration. It will thus be seen that the Orange Institution was founded on Constitutional lines, and that the oaths taken by Orangemen were the same as those required of State servants and of the King himself. Then, as now, the Orange Institution was "exclusively a Protestant Association ; yet, *detesting an intolerant spirit, it admits no persons into its brotherhood who are not well known to be incapable of persecuting, injuring, or upbraiding any one on account of his religious opinions* : its principle is to aid and assist loyal subjects of every religious persuasion, by protecting

them from violence and oppression.”—(Preamble, Laws and Ordinances, 1828).

“The resolution to dissolve the Grand Lodge was carried, after three days’ discussion, on the 14th April, 1836. The late Brother Archer, who was present on the occasion, states in his “Marching of the Lodges,” that, when the resolution to dissolve was carried, the Rev. John Graham, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge, “shed tears at the fatal announcement.”

Following the dissolution of the Grand Lodge in 1836, Ireland was thrown once more into the seething cauldron of anarchy and rebellion. The Government then, as now, endeavoured to conciliate their enemies by concession after concession. Then, as now, loyalty did not pay in Ireland, and Ministers vied with each other in placating the Papacy by the endowment of Popery. The jails were opened, and criminals let loose on society. The Coercion Act was allowed to expire, and secret societies sprang up on all sides. The anniversary of the butcheries of '98 was celebrated on a monster scale, and matters became so serious that, in 1839, an Act was passed for the suppression of illegal societies. Then followed the Repeal Association in 1840; and monster meetings throughout the country paralysed all law and order. During this crisis the Orange lodges throughout the North refrained from celebrating the “12th” lest they might add to the difficulties of the Government:—

“For this forbearance the Lord President of the Council declared in the House of Lords ‘That the Parliament and the country were indebted to the Protestants of Ireland; it was owing to their good sense and good conduct that the whole country was not in a flame.’”

Lord Brougham also stated:—

“They had given up their processions while they saw their adversaries allowed to hold meetings to any extent—attended by hundreds of thousands, with their bands of music and military array. The Orangemen were not allowed to hoist a single colour, and still, to their immortal honour, they remained quiet, and upon no former occasion had the Queen’s peace been so strictly preserved.”

Chapter III.—1845-1870.

The threats and outrages of the Ribbonmen, and the “inadequacy of the law, the imminent peril to life and property, and the daily increase of deeds of violence in localities hitherto peaceful, were the causes that led the old members of the Orange Society to seek for that united strength which their organisation had been so admirably fitted to afford.” Those who had dissolved the Grand Lodge in 1836 were now anxious for the protection of the Institution in the hour of danger.

In 1845, therefore, “a meeting of influential gentlemen from several counties of Ulster was held in the Town Hall of Enniskillen, on 27th August, 1845, for the purpose of taking into consideration how far a union of all those who are ready to make common cause in upholding the religion of the Reformation could be formed, in *strict subserviency to the laws*.” The Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen occupied the chair, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Proposed by Colonel Verner, M.P., and seconded by the Hon. Somerset Maxwell, and resolved :—

“That the circumstances of the times render it absolutely necessary that a closer union should be formed amongst all classes of Her Majesty’s loyal and attached subjects in this country, in order to preserve inviolate the Legislative Union, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty ; and especially a combination and union necessary amongst all those who are ready to make common cause in upholding the religion of the Reformation.”

Proposed by Colonel Barton, seconded by Henry Johnston, Esq., and resolved :—

“That in order that any union formed amongst us should be firmly established and productive of beneficial and lasting results, we are persuaded that it must be formed on that precept of the Bible, “*Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake*,” and, therefore, taking this precept for our guide, our union shall be formed in strict subserviency to the existing laws of the realm.”

Proposed by Rev. George Welsh, seconded by Samuel Yates Johnstone, Esq., and resolved :—

“That inasmuch as the existing laws render the Orange Institution, as originally constituted, illegal, we do hereby appoint a committee for the purpose of considering under what appellation the Society shall be designated, and upon what legal principles such a union can be formed, and for the drawing up of rules and regulations for the conduct of such union, and that the said Committee be empowered to submit such rules and regulations to eminent counsel for their direction and opinion as to their strict legality and conformity to the law, and take such steps as may be necessary to carry out these resolutions.”

Proposed by Edward Atthill, Esq., seconded by A Holmes, Esq., and resolved:—

“That the Committee appointed to carry out the foregoing resolutions consist of Revs. Sidney Smith, George W. Welsh, and Messrs. Hugh Hamilton (jun.), Nicholas Archdall, Samuel Yates Johnstone and John Wood, whose exertions are to be confined to the County Fermanagh; and that William Auchinleck Dane, Esq., be requested to act as Secretary to said Committee.

Proposed by Sir A. Brooke, Bart., M.P., seconded by W. A. Dane, Esq., and resolved:—

“That we look with the greatest confidence to obtaining the co-operation of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, in the carrying out of the principles of these resolutions.”

The Committee appointed referred the Laws and Ordinances of 1836 to eminent counsel, Joseph Napier, Esq., who “remodelled the Rules and Ordinances so as to render them consistent with law; and so as to be capable of adoption either with or without a test of declaration.” The forms of oath already referred to, and secret signs and passwords, being illegal, were discarded; but, with these exceptions, no changes of note were found necessary. The Committee, after careful consideration, recommended the name of “Orange” as “the best by which the proposed union could be designated.”

“The obloquy,” says the report of the Commission, “which has been attached to this cherished name by enemies and strangers may continue for a time to operate, but we know it must soon fade away and be banished from every fair and candid mind at the spectacle which (with the Divine blessing) our united Protestantism shall present, of men lawfully, solemnly and peacefully associating for an object so sacred and exalted. . . . The object which everywhere we desired to keep in view was the formation of a *great Protestant confederation* on a basis perfectly legal and unobjectionable, with Scriptural truth for the main element and principle thereof; so that all ranks and sections of Protestants might be liable to unite cordially and effectually. We know that the Orange Institution, as originally constituted, although not now in conformity with existing laws, involved in it the purest principles of Christianity, and that its obligations were such as to require true religion from those who should walk in accordance with them. *For this cause we have remodelled the description of the Qualifications of an Orangeman, so as to be more full and more significant of the Christian character.*”

In 1848 the Orange Institution was supplied with arms by the Government.

“The pressure and perils of the time were then forcing the real value of our Institution on those whose political creed would lead them to regard us with unfriendly eyes, . . . ‘A series of political mistakes, conspicuous amongst which was the practice of concession to the demands of the Church of Rome, fostered a state of feeling in Ireland that led, in 1848, to a crisis, in which the adoption of the services, and the recognition of the value of the Irish loyalists, became unavoidable.’ (*Vide G. L. Report, 1849.*)”

As in former years, the British Government, which in days of peril relied on Orange support, forgot their friends in the days of peace.

In 1849, Bro. the Earl of Roden, and Bros. Francis and William Beers, were deprived of their commissions as Justices of the Peace, in connection with the famous conflict at Dolly's Brae, on July 12th. In 1850 the Grand Lodge of Ireland forwarded a loyal address to Her Majesty, but the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, refused to present it. The Grand Master, the Earl of Enniskillen, reminded Sir George Grey of the addresses which had previously been presented, and to which no exception had been taken. This, however, occurred in 1848, when the Government required the services of the Orangemen in Ireland.

It may interest the brethren to know that in the early days of the Institution, and down to a late period, the Grand Lodge of Ireland met on *several* consecutive days, half-yearly, for the transaction of business; and that

"One day at each half-yearly meeting was set apart for the purpose of enabling the members to take counsel together as to the state of the Institution; and to adopt such measures as may, under God, be likely to promote *the cause of Protestantism* in the Empire."

In 1849 the new laws provided:—

"That all clergymen duly admitted members of private Lodges shall be considered chaplains of the same, and shall rank after the Deputy Master, have the privileges of officers of their respective Lodges, and shall be considered members of the District Lodges to which their Lodges are attached."

The close connection between the Church of Ireland and Orangeism was shown in the provision made in 1828, and again in 1849, for the office of "Prelate," to rank after the Deputy Grand Master.

The 'Fifties were chiefly noted for the Papal aggressive movement in England and Ireland. The Emancipation Act of 1829 had opened the doors of Parliament to the Ultramontanes, who aimed at holding the balance of power between political parties. Parliament was no longer exclusively Protestant, and Protestant principles were no longer a valuable party asset in an assembly in which Protestantism had no separate existence as a party, and where the Roman Catholic vote was always on sale to the highest bidder. In 1850, at the Thurles Synod, the Roman Catholic bishops and priests publicly swore allegiance to the Pope. In 1851, the Deputy Grand Secretary having brought under the consideration of the Grand Lodge of Ireland the importance of the Orange Institution in the present crisis using the powerful means afforded by its numbers and organisation, in order to secure the return of sound and consistent Protestants to represent the Protestant constituencies of Ireland in Parliament, it was resolved:—

"That the Committee of Emergency be empowered to inquire into the Orange strength, and also the general Protestant strength, in the various constituencies of Ireland, as at present fixed by the recent Franchise Bill."

“That a sub-committee be appointed to consider the best mode of securing the return of sound representatives.”

In 1852 the proposed endowment of Maynooth College was made a test question at the elections, and the address of the Grand Master, the Earl of Enniskillen, in that year, was worthy of the man and of the times.

The religious and constitutional principles of Orangeism were once more in the ascendant, the Maynooth College agitation forcing the Protestant issues once more to the front in the constituencies. The fight at that period was stated in the Grand Orange Report to be this—“*Shall Popery or Protestantism prevail in Parliament?*”

“Be guided in your votes,” said the Report of 1852, “by an assurance that the candidate of your choice (whatever else you may require of him) is a decided friend to the Protestant cause.”

The Irish Protestant Parliamentary representatives were not then in favour in Orange circles, and the Institution brought pressure to bear in the several constituencies to secure the return of proper men.

The Protestant, as distinct from the political party, character of the Institution, was repeatedly emphasised at this period, and in 1852 the Grand Lodge resolved:—

“That, regarding the great purposes for which the Orange Institution was, under Divine blessing, instituted, and also bearing in mind what is to be expected by the brethren at large from the deliberations of this Grand Lodge, it does appear highly desirable that at least one day at each half yearly meeting of this Grand Lodge be set apart for the purpose of enabling the members to take counsel together as to the state of the Institution, and to adopt such measures as may, under God, be likely to promote the cause of Protestantism in the empire, and that such day shall be notified in the summonses issued to the members of the Grand Lodge.

The result of the elections in 1852 were not regarded as satisfactory, and at the following Grand Lodge meeting in 1853 it was resolved:—

“That, at the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, the sense of the Grand Lodge be taken, as to whether it be not absolutely necessary that, in future, no candidate be admitted into the Institution, without giving a distinct pledge that he will never vote for any candidate for parliament, whose political principles, as openly announced, do not coincide with the high principles of the Orange Institution.”

And again in 1856 the report stated:—

“That the Grand Lodge would strongly impress on the members of the Institution who may possess the elective franchise, the necessity of exercising that right to the furtherance of the principles which are acknowledged by, and form the basis of, our Institution.”

The betrayal of the Orange Institution by the men who were returned to Parliament by Orange votes and influence, was expressed by resolution of the Grand Lodge in 1857:—

Resolved:—“That this Grand Lodge has observed the many sacrifices made by the Orange and Protestant electors of Ireland in the

recent struggle, and cannot separate without expressing their indignation at the indifference of those professing Protestant and Orange members of the House of Commons, who refrained from voting upon the motion regarding Maynooth, notwithstanding the unparalleled exertions made to place them in their position as representatives."

The Party Processions Act had been uniformly respected by the Orangemen of Ireland, and the Grand Lodge annually issued instructions calling upon the brethren to refrain from holding public processions, or displaying emblems in public. All this time the Act was as uniformly ignored, and violated with impunity South of the Boyne. Monster rebel demonstrations paraded the streets of Dublin, Cork, and other cities in the South without let or hindrance. In the year 1867 matters had reached a climax. The rank and file of the Institution were righteously indignant at the partiality displayed by the Government in the administration of the Act; and the Orange leaders, and Ulster members of Parliament, were publicly condemned for their supineness in tolerating the continued repression of loyal men, and the licence granted the disloyal section of the populace. A Tory Government was in power, and Lord Mayo, as Chief Secretary, was, like Mr. Wyndham at the present time, endeavouring to conciliate the disloyal at the expense of the Protestants of Ireland. His name was linked with that of "Lundy" at public meetings, and his pro-Romish administration was execrated in every Protestant household. It was felt on all hands that the time had come to test the constitutional right of the Government to make one law for the South and another for the North; but the Ulster representatives and Orange leaders denounced any breach of the Party Processions Act as a violation of the Orange obligations. The Imperial Grand Master, the Earl of Enniskillen, wrote to the Press calling upon the Orangemen to obey the law of the land as loyal men; members of Parliament wrote beseeching letters to the leaders of the revolt, asking them to have patience, and the Act would, in due time, be repealed; but the Orangemen of Ulster were determined to permit no further suppression of their liberties. A monster demonstration of 40,000 Orangemen marched in procession, with flags flying and bands playing, to Bangor, over which the veteran, Bro. Beers, presided. Mr. William Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, was the principal speaker. He said:—

"They had been trampled upon long enough (cheers). They had assembled there that day loyally, peaceably, anxious to avoid giving offence to anybody, and determined not to take any (hear, hear, and cheers). They had come, as true Protestants and Orangemen, determined to claim for themselves what was accorded to the Roman Catholics in the streets of the metropolis (hear, hear, and cheers). It was utterly insufferable, and not to be borne, that they should be told that it was illegal for Protestants, on the 12th of July, to display Orange flags or beat a Protestant drum, while it was perfectly legal and perfectly proper for Roman Catholics to march through the streets of Dublin with their chosen emblems (hear,

hear, and cheers). The law officers of the Crown, under the late Government, had declared that the demonstration in honour of Daniel O'Connell was perfectly legal. That demonstration, they would recollect, carried with them green flags, and they played such tunes as they felt were suitable to the occasion (hear, hear). They had been declared to be legal. Therefore, they, the Orangemen there assembled, declared that they had been guilty of no party procession (cheers). They had their Orange flags, and they had played, and would play, such tunes as were suitable to such occasions, and they would then boldly declare that that was no party procession (hear, hear, and great cheering). They were tired of hole-and-corner meetings, and those who assembled at small tea-parties and implored them for God's sake to keep quiet on the 12th of July (cheers and groans). How had their adversaries and opponents gained everything that they had gained? Had they not gained by great demonstrations? (Hear, hear.) Concessions to the Papacy had been gained by demonstrations in different places. That, then, was the great secret (hear, hear). They would show that day, by the voice of 50,000 Orangemen, that they were determined to have their rights restored to them—that they were determined to regain them by legal and peaceable measures (tremendous cheering, and waving of hats and Orange symbols). There were people who were sometimes troubled with a good deal of correspondence. To him, for instance, members of Parliament were very kind about the 12th of July. (Hear, hear, and laughter). They were so good as to recollect, on such occasions, that there was such a person as he in existence. (Hear, hear.) Various communications came across from London about this time, and they were marked, "Private and Confidential," and requesting him and his friends to oblige them after this fashion—"Don't get up demonstrations this time; the time is not come yet; wait a while." (Groans and laughter.) They had waited, and they had waited, and they would wait no longer. (Great cheering.) From that place, and from a dozen other places in Ulster, on that 12th July, a unanimous voice would go forth to the Ulster members of Parliament. What was that voice? It was this—"Gentlemen, we have put you into Parliament by Orange votes, and by Orange votes we will keep you there, but you must support Orange and Protestant principles. (Enthusiastic cheering.)"

Mr. William Johnston was prosecuted, with others, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. Lord Mayo proceeded to the furthest extremes in his persecution of Ulster Protestants, and while he was lamenting in the House of Commons that two treason-felony prisoners could not be lodged together in jail, so as to enjoy each other's society, the Orange prisoner was fed on "skilly," and placed in an iron "cage," like a wild beast on show, when his wife or friends were permitted an interview. After considerable agitation Mr. Johnston's treatment was somewhat modified.

A Great Orange Meeting was held in the Ulster Hall, on 4th March, 1868, for the purpose "of expressing sympathy for Mrs. Johnston and family, who have been deprived of the endearing association of one whom we always regarded as the working man's friend,—Mr. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg." Eight o'clock was the hour fixed for the meeting; but long before that time the large hall was

quite crowded in every part. Every seat was filled, and every inch of standing room in the body of the hall, the balcony, and the orchestra was occupied. The following significant resolution was passed:—

“That as we believe Mr William Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, has been betrayed and deserted by the aristocracy of Ulster, on account of his thorough identification with the Protestant working classes of the province, and, as we consider he never was so worthy of the confidence of the people than at present, we hereby form ourselves into ‘The United Protestant Workingman’s Association of Ulster,’ for the purpose of securing the return to the House of Commons, at the next General Election, of Mr. Johnston and twenty-eight other Protestants, equally trusted by the men of Ulster. That the following be a committee, with power to add to their number, to draw up rules and take such other measures for the advantage and interest of the Association as they may consider best expedient:—Thomas Ward (chairman), Richard Johnson, William McCormick, James McGladdery, John Williams, John Reid, Thomas Graham, Isaac Hall, George Larmour, William Maxwell.”

The speakers were all working men, and included the following:—

“Mr. Richard Johnson (grocer), Mr. Isaac Hall (carpenter), Mr. John Reid (master painter), Mr. Robert McDowell (mechanic), Mr. John Campbell (diningroom proprietor).”

All this time his conduct was condemned by the Orange leaders and by the landed gentry. The Reform Bill had passed, and opened the door to the Protestant democracy. To a man, the Orange workingmen were behind Mr. Johnston, and finally returned him as Member for South Belfast, in the teeth of the most determined opposition of the Conservative Association and of the monied classes, led by the *Belfast News-Letter*. It was the first innings of the Protestant democracy under the Reform Bill, and was not relished by those who had hitherto controlled Orange votes in the North. The year '67 was noted, also, for the attack on the Established Church in Ireland. The Orange Institution was specially pledged to maintain inviolate the Act of Union and the Established Church; but when the Gladstone axe was placed at the root of the “upas tree of Protestant ascendancy,” the Orange Institution was asked by the leaders to stand aside as a corporate body, and submerge its individuality in the common stock-pot of the “Protestant Defence Association.” The first meeting of the defence movement was held at Hillsborough on 30th October, 1867. The Marquis of Downshire presided. It was rumoured that the Orangemen intended being present with bands and colours, in defiance of the Party Processions’ Act, and extraordinary pressure was exercised to prevent Orangeism being identified with the proceedings. Those who in former years had used the Orange vote and influence to secure their return to Parliament, were now loudest in denouncing Orangeism, and the proceedings at Bangor on the preceding 12th July. The Marquis

of Downshire, who presided, was supported on the platform by all the Orange nobility and gentry, but the Orange rank and file largely abstained from attending, as a protest against the subordination of Orangeism to the exigencies of landlordism and clericalism. The tone of the meeting, in its attitude towards Orangeism, and particularly towards Mr. William Johnston, because of his action at Bangor, and his denunciation of the Orange and Parliamentary leaders, may be gathered from the speech of the chairman in opening the proceedings:—

“I am delighted to find that this meeting embraces all kinds and denominations of Protestants, and that it is not a meeting of one party. (Cheers.) It would be absurd, of course, to say that there are not a great number—I speak it plainly—of Orangemen (renewed cheers), but why should they not? They are Protestants, the same as any other denominations of Protestants. All we want is that the meeting should be legally conducted, for none of us who are magistrates, and wish well to our common cause, would like to see party emblems, for we could not submit to it. Therefore, I am glad you took the advice of your friends, and you have come here not merely to take a holiday. Gentlemen, you are not aware of the rules settled on for the meeting, but one of them is one which I shall enforce strictly, and that is—‘That no person shall speak except who is named by the committee.’ I call on you to back me up and support me in enforcing that rule, and assist in putting him or them out of the place who will attempt to violate it. We were greatly afraid that some injudicious person might fall into the very error which we wished to prevent, and that was coming in procession. However, I am glad to find that you had the good sense not to do so. Your conduct has nullified our fears, and I myself, for one, was most tearful, and, I am proud to say, was fearfully mistaken. (Applause.) I am free to own that I was truly deceived, and I feel certain that when there is a Protestant meeting held again in Ulster that there will be no emblems used. It is patent to everyone here, and will be through the Press, that this is simply and literally nothing but a Protestant meeting. It only occurs to me in reference to party colours (pointing to a Union Jack on the platform) that that is the colour we all fight for. (Cheers.) We fight under the Union Jack and no other.”

The attempt to ignore the Orange Institution on this occasion was strongly objected to by the late William Johnston, in the following correspondence:—

“MY LORD, - It is with reluctance that I take up my pen to advert to an observation made by your Lordship as chairman at Hillsborough yesterday. Having taken a platform ticket, binding me ‘to submit to the ruling of the chairman,’ I should have hoped that sufficient confidence might have been placed in me, as a gentleman, to prevent the supposition being entertained that I should require to be turned out of the meeting for introducing myself as a speaker. It is probable the remarks of your Lordship were not understood as applying to me by the audience. On my return home I found a letter awaiting me which rendered it evident that I was the person alluded to. Having ascertained some time before that a nervous anxiety existed lest anything should occur to identify the meeting with Orangeism, I hesitated for a while as to whether it might be deemed advisable for me to present myself at the meeting. There may have been good reasons why I was never asked to attend at any preliminary meeting, or take any part in promoting it. I do not question the right of those who planned it to exclude any person from the committee. Some of my friends ventured to

Chapter IV.—1870-1880.

The Orange Institution was, in 1870, passing through a crisis. The Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, viewed from a constitutional standpoint, was a breach in the Protestant ramparts which were built around the Protestant Throne; and many regarded the breach as beyond repair. Some went so far as to advocate the entire abrogation of the Act of Union. Certain it is that Orangeism was passing through a critical stage. The extension of the franchise; the revolt of the Orange democracy; the conflicting land and labour interests within its ranks, and an ever-vigilant foe without, combined to drive men once more to inquire as to the first principles of Orangeism. The Grand Lodge met under altered circumstances. "Roden! Verner! Drew!—these had gone to God! But their memories shall live for ever in Orange hearts and Orange homes." On the threshold of 1871 the Grand Lodge, in its address, indicated the change which had come, and how it was to be met:—

"The year on which we have entered constitutes an important era in the history of our country. For the first time, not only since the formation of our Institution, but for long years before, Protestantism has ceased to be the established religion of Ireland. The Protestant churches have been assailed; their endowments despoiled, and their connection with the State put an end to; wrong has been done; God's cause has been dishonoured; loyal and true-hearted men have been insulted, at the bidding of a foreign Power. But we are not disheartened. We believe in the vitality of Truth; and we believe in the Truth of the Protestant religion. Therefore we are confident that, by God's good guidance, the Protestant churches of this land will go on and prosper; strong in the Lord, in the energy of a devoted people; and the labours of a faithful ministry."

The widening of the Protestant platform—the profession of faith in the vitality of the Protestant religion—were signs of the times. The Irish agitation, the Franco-Prussian war, the downfall of the Papal states, and the faithlessness of Protestant statesmen, convinced Orangemen that the programme of Orangeism was not yet exhausted, and that its existence was more necessary than ever. The cry was—"Back to first principles," and so the Grand Lodge in 1871 informed the brethren:—

"In order that its (Orange) influence may be felt, Orangemen must be true to themselves. They must act in unison and for the good of Orangeism and make the interests and welfare of Protestantism their foremost consideration in the support given by them to political parties. We believe in the final triumph of Protestantism. God is not enough honoured among us. . . . Let us live and act in the spirit of Christian Protestantism."

In the report of the delegates to the Imperial Council in the same year it was stated:—

"Vast issues were discussed and resolutions passed, the need of which seemed felt by all, urging *principle*, and not the mere interests of organisation or party, as the guiding star of the Brotherhood."

In 1871 the Grand Lodge passed a resolution "condemning the proposition of vote by ballot," and, in consequence, Mr. William Johnston announced his intention of resigning the Institution, and withdrew from the Grand Lodge. He afterwards withdrew his resignation.

The agitation in the Church of Ireland for a return to first principles, by a revision of the Book of Common Prayer, found an echo in the Grand Lodge of Ireland; and resolutions were proposed having for their object the prevention of Ritualism in Ireland. The Grand Lodge resolved in 1872:—

"That organised as the Orange Institution is to maintain the Protestant religion in its purity, especially free from Romish teaching, this meeting, held under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, hereby records its detestation of any attempt to pervert the doctrines of the Protestant Church into a system differing little from the Romish apostacy, which it is evident certain Romanisers in our midst are making strenuous efforts to accomplish."

The serious differences of opinion on the question of the Union, which followed Disestablishment, were finally closed by the adoption of the following resolution in 1871:—

"That, though the loyal Orangemen and Protestants of Ireland have been discouraged and dis-countenanced by the British Government, and though, having great reason to complain of certain Acts of Parliament injurious to the cause of Protestantism; yet, feeling assured that the great majority of an Irish Parliament, meeting in Dublin, would be composed of men hostile to our faith, and enemies of civil and religious liberty—in the opinion of this Grand Lodge any encouragement given by members of this Institution to Home Rule, as at present advocated, is utterly inconsistent with the spirit of Orangeism, and we therefore condemn it."

The agitation against Ritualism going on in the country, found its way once more into the Grand Lodge, and Dr. Jagoe proposed a resolution in 1878 that the word "Ritualist" be joined with the word "Romanist" in the ritual of initiation. This motion was carried, but in the following year, on the motion of one of the Grand Chaplains, the resolution was rescinded. In this question of Ritualism, the late Mr. William Johnston was invariably on the wrong side, and his latter years were marked by a painful leaning towards the High Church party, and the support of Ritualistic societies.

To appease the rank and file, the following resolution was "ordered to be appended to the laws in future":—

"That the Grand Lodge, taking into serious consideration the alarming and insidious efforts of an unscrupulous Romanising party in the Protestant Church, (who with Jesuitical subtlety, by introducing ritualistic practices and by substituting anti-Scriptural novelties for the simple teaching of Christ's Gospel), labour perseveringly to pervert men's minds, and to seduce them from the pure faith of the Reformation, enjoins every member of the Orange Institution to be watchful; and faithfully, and unitedly, by all

lawful and proper means, to oppose the designs and schemes of those agents of the Romish Apostacy, and determinedly to prevent the introduction into our Churches of ritualism, retreats, and confessional, and all other fanciful novelties which have no warrant of Scripture."

This was never added to the laws, but the Evangelical laity were lulled to sleep by an inoperative resolution. It is a remarkable fact that in the same year, in the Grand Lodge address, are these words:—

"Based on an open Bible, Orangeism has a firm foundation. Though traduced, maligned and slandered, it has flourished exceedingly, *holding Protestantism above Party*, and earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints."

Orange principles were being forced once more to the front when events in Ireland conspired to place the Institution once more in the vanguard of a political struggle, whose gravity few at that period could anticipate. The Home Rule agitation was assuming serious proportions, and gained impetus by reason of the strategical move of the Irish leaders in taking up the Land Question. This brought all the farmers to the side of the Home Rule party in the South and West, and contributions poured in from all sides to maintain a fighting and obstructive party in the British House of Commons. The Land agitation proved a serious strain on the loyalty of the Orange farmers of Ulster, and resolutions were passed by the Grand Lodge expressing sympathy with the farmers, but urging them to oppose the disloyal and illegal methods of the Land League. The following resolutions were passed by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in December, 1880:—

"That we, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, being convinced that the Land Question is being made use of by designing agitators for other purposes than the satisfactory settlement of the Land Question, deem it to be our duty at this important crisis to state that, while we desire a just Tenant Right measure for the Orangemen of Ireland, yet it is impossible for an Orangeman to be understood as sympathising with the members of the Land League, whose violent and seditious language, as also their avowed objects, are utterly opposed to his principles and obligations."

And again, at the same meeting of the Grand Lodge, it was resolved:—

"That our attention having been called to the statements of Mr. J. B. M'Hugh, as published in several of the Dublin newspapers on the 1st December, instant (1880), to the effect that the 'Orangemen had gone in for the Land League,' and which statement with other matters of a like libellous nature, having been referred to and commented on by Mr. Michael Davitt at the meeting of the Land League, held yesterday at their offices, Middle Abbey Street, in this city, we, the representatives of the Orangemen of Ireland, in Grand Lodge assembled, do hereby give the statement of Mr. M'Hugh, and all like statements, an unqualified contradiction, and inform Mr. M'Hugh that he has no evidence to support his statement beyond his own word. That we refer Mr. M'Hugh and his colleagues to the resolution passed by the Orangemen on the 10th November, in the Ulster Hall in Belfast, where it was declared:—'That, while sympathising with the tillers of the soil in their efforts to obtain a settlement on equitable terms,

we will never stoop to disloyal or dishonest means to obtain this end. That the statement of Mr. Parnell, the acknowledged leader of this movement, relative to the ultimate object of the League, namely, 'the separation of this country from England,' and the gratuitous insults offered by Mr. Redpath to our most Gracious Sovereign, whose person and honour we, as Orangemen, are bound to protect, even with our lives, makes it a matter of utter impossibility for Orangemen, or any other loyal men, to join the League, of whose aims and revolutionary proceedings we express our utter detestation."

It was further resolved that "the foregoing resolution *be published only in our own Report.*"

In the Memorial sent by the Grand Lodge to the Queen in 1880 it was stated:—

"Landlords are unable to recover their just and lawful rents unless they choose to submit to terms enforced upon them by a secret tribunal. Tenants are forbidden to pay under fear of carding, ear-splitting, and other kinds of mutilation. A system of 'blackmail' has been established by which all peaceable and well disposed persons are compelled to contribute to a fund raised for the purpose of disseminating sedition and promoting rebellion to all constituted authority."

This extraordinary activity in Orange circles in defence of the landed interests; and the *resolutions* of sympathy with the oppressed Orange farmers, by men who were content to have Ulster represented in Parliament by landlords and place-hunters, had their origin in a chapter of circumstances which brought into conflict once again the opposing interests which had stirred the Institution to its depths in 1867 and following years.



Chapter V.—1880-1901.

The Fenian movement in Ireland had but one effect. It wrung from the British Government further concessions, including the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

As in '67 so in the succeeding years, down to 1880, the Government of the day had successively coerced and conciliated; and Irish Protestants found themselves, early in 1880, face to face with a huge conspiracy against life and property in Ireland, while the Government refused to grapple with the lawbreakers, and the Ulster "deadheads" in the Commons were indifferent to the trend of events. The murder of Lord Leitrim and others throughout the country had excited widespread horror and indignation, but still the leaders slept.

On August 30th, 1880, the foundation of an Orange Hall was laid at Donacloney, and the occasion was also availed of to celebrate the coming of age of Mr. William Nicholson. Mrs. Whalley, the wife of Rev. Mr. Whalley, performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone, and the speakers included Rev. R. R. Kane, rector of the neighbouring parish of Tullylish.

Murders and outrages were now of frequent occurrence; and the Government, and the Protestant and Orange leaders in Ireland, deliberately shut their eyes to the reign of terrorism which had sprung up in the country. The Rev. R. R. Kane spoke very strongly on the state of Ireland, and advocated the establishment of a Protestant Individual Life Protection Society. The speech caused a sensation, as it was alleged in the House of Commons, and by the Bishop of the Diocese in a correspondence with Dr. Kane, that he had incited to murder, by way of reprisal.

The *Belfast News-Letter* animadverted in very strong terms on the speech, and persisted in misrepresenting the speaker's words by wresting them from their context. Dr., then Rev. R. R. Kane, was roundly abused by the Orange leaders of that period, and the agitation of '67 was again repeated in the Orange ranks for the better representation of Protestantism in Parliament, and the fuller realisation of the Reform Bills in the interests of the Orange democracy.

Dr. Kane was the son of an Orangeman, but was not a member himself at this period. He, however, joined the ranks, and commenced a strong agitation throughout Ulster for the embodiment of his views in the programme of the Orange

Institution. He was boycotted by the leaders, and the late Col. Waring, M.P., wrote to the Press threatening to bring the Donacloney speech under the notice of the Diocesan Synod. Dr. Kane, in a reply to the Press, summed up his speech in these words :—

“Are the Protestants of the South and West to be shot down like rotten sheep? Has the Irish Chief Secretary told us that he apprehends a serious increase in the number of private assassinations? Did Mr. Parnell bring from America large sums for bread, in the proportion £5 for bread and £15 for lead? Did Mr. Biggar say that force, even such force as was used in the case of Lord Leitrim was justifiable, and that there were other Hartmans in Ireland? The sum of what I said was that the game of lead was a game that two could play at if driven to it, and this I repeat.”

Finally, on September 11th, the *Newsletter* published Dr. Kane's speech as he delivered it from his manuscript, with these remarks :—

“In justice to ourselves we must disclaim all sympathy with the suggested Organisation, and strongly condemn its possible outcome.”

Dr. Kane, as in the case of Mr. William Johnston, was thus early brought into conflict with the Orange leaders, and he bent all his masterly energies and ability to the emancipation of the rank and file from the thralldom of landlordism and class rule. Every effort was made to suppress and discredit him, but he persevered in his mission, and the Orange democracy rallied to his side. In a letter to the *News Letter* on 18th September, 1880, he wrote :—

“I can't understand why you should persist in misrepresenting me.”

Referring to Dr. Kane's challenge to “repeat his speech in the Ulster Hall before any assembly of Orangemen and Protestants, and if they dare denounce my speech”—the *News Letter* described the challenge as “silly bombast.”

The Johnston *emeute* of '67 had fizzled out, and Orangeism was a stagnant pool of dull uniformity. Dr. Kane was before his time, but not long. The murder of Lord Mountmorres at the end of September, under revolting circumstances—the people refusing to coffin the body—caused a revulsion of feeling throughout the country.

The country was now awake. The Ulster “deadheads” recognised that landlordism required friends, and the Orange drum was once more beaten to quarters. On October 31st following, the *News-Letter* had at last recognised the danger, and asked hysterically :—

“When will the Government interfere? Not a day passes without its testimony to the state of anarchy into which the country has been plunged by the action of demagogues on the one hand, and the inaction of the Irish Executive on the other. Never before in its history was our unfortunate island in such a disturbed condition; never before was the red hand of

murder bared so daringly, and the blood of innocent men shed so unsparingly; yet the Irish Executive sits paralysed in Dublin Castle, and the manslayer passes from county to county with impunity."

The Donacloney speech was at length justified; Orangemen were aroused to action by the "Hero of the North," as Dr. Kane was familiarly styled, but the end was not yet. The Land League was now the ruling power in the land, and Ireland was covered with a dark mantle of rapine and murder.

The case of Captain Boycott, Lord Erne's agent in the West, who was the first boycotted, and from whom the name was coined, forced public attention to the necessity of organisation, and the Orange Institution was the city of refuge to which the harassed landlords and agents turned their weary steps. The Orange Institution was now the bulwark of the rights of citizenship; and the fundamental religious and constitutional principles were once more lost sight of in the awful crisis through which society was then passing. But the Land Question was eating into the vitals of Ulster Orangeism. At a meeting of Orangemen held at Portadown, on 5th November, 1880, Rev. W. S. Ross, referring to the Land agitation, said:—

"Now, the Land Question was a very important one (hear, hear). It was both a complicated and a difficult question—a question not easily solved—one that required careful and special legislation. The relations between landlord and tenant—even in *Ulster*—were not altogether what they ought to be (hear, hear). Landlords, in too many instances, regarded the land as absolutely their own. Now, landlords had their rights, and these rights were to be respected, and no one should dare to defraud them of their rights. But tenants had also their rights; and if landlords endeavoured to wrest their rights from them, or infringe upon them, or injure them, the landlords were to be resisted, and must be restrained by law (cheers). 'Every man his rights' in this free Empire of England, must be more their rallying cry and watchword."

This was the spirit of the times, and the "Rights of the tenants" was emphasised from many Orange platforms throughout the country. In face of the strategical move of the Home Rulers on the Land Question it was seen that Orange organised opposition to the Land League could only be obtained by a candid admission that "Landlord rights" were too often "Tenant wrongs." The criminal crusade of the Land League—the cruel boycotting and heartless murders—brought all classes together in defence of life and property, and landlordism found a rampart in the Orange Institution which it had previously ignored and discredited.

Dr. Kane having denounced the landlord representatives in Parliament, as roundly as did Mr. William Johnston in '67, he was boycotted by the Ulster leaders; and when a public meeting was at length called in the Ulster Hall on 29th October, 1880, to re-echo the warning of the discredited Donacloney speech,

Dr. Kane was not invited to speak. He attended, however, and the audience compelled the platform to hear him. He got a stirring ovation, and told the assembled Conservative M.P.'s that his Donacloney "speech had done more to give effect to the sentiments of Ulster before the Empire than all the speeches of their members of Parliament for the last six years." He wound up his speech by "hoping that the Conservative members of Parliament would in future exhibit more patriotism, more energy, and more unflinching courage, and more uncompromising Protestantism, than they had been in the habit of doing."

The invasion of Ulster by the Land League agitators forced the pace; and on 19th October, 1880, a requisition was sent to the Earl of Enniskillen calling upon him to convene a special meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, "to consider the state of the country, and to take such steps as may be desirable at the present crisis." The meeting was held in York Street Hall, Dublin, on the 3rd November. A special meeting of the Central Committee had been previously held on October 19th, when it was resolved to publish in the Press the Qualifications of an Orangeman:—

"As a set off against the socialistic and revolutionary principles of the Land League, and other similar communistic institutions."

At the special meeting held on 3rd November, an address was issued to the brethren which stated:—

"The welfare of the tenant, and of all other classes in Ireland, is aimed at and sought for by the Orange Institution."

The "maintenance of the rights of property," and "the payment of just debts" were specially enforced, as the stern declaration of the Orange tenantry. The resolutions quoted in the previous chapter were passed at the ordinary meeting in December. Meantime, meetings were held all over the North, and Dr. Kane had the satisfaction of knowing that his Donacloney speech was at length bearing fruit. On 10th November, meetings were held at Belfast and Stewartstown, where the Orangemen urged upon the "*Conservative representatives of Ireland a more determined and outspoken action in Parliament in defence of Protestant rights and liberties.*" At Stewartstown, Mr. Hunt W. Chambré, the chairman, now Deputy Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland of the parent Order, voiced the prevailing feeling in Tyrone when he said:—

"While Parnell's Jesuitical wisdom in disguising his real objects and intentions under the guise of tenant-right has deceived many, even a few in Ulster, who, though loyal and true men, still as farmers are anxious for, and must get, full and proper tenant-right—(cheers) You, tenant-farmers want and must have a full and proper settlement of the land question, but we will not seek it by murder and outrage—(cheers)."

At an Orange and Protestant meeting at Monaghan on 16th December, 1880, it was resolved:—

“That in the interests of both landlords and tenants, we consider that an equitable settlement of the land question is absolutely necessary; which shall give to the landlords a fair rent for their land, and to the tenant protection from rack-rent and capricious eviction, as well as security for his capital invested in permanent improvements.”

Nine-tenths of the Orangemen of Ulster were at this period in favour of the three “F’s”—Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rent, and Free Sale; and the Land Act of 1881 was a measure of justice to the clamourings of the Orange tenantry, as well as to the murders and outrages of the Land League. But the *volte face* of Mr. Gladstone in 1885 altered the whole face of party politics, and the Repeal struggle was continued with varying success down to 1893, when Mr. Gladstone’s second Home Rule Bill was defeated.

It is not necessary here to dwell upon the events of that stirring period. The smash-up of the Home Rule party was followed by the application to Ireland of a Unionist policy of conciliation—“Balfourian amelioration”—which aroused a storm of opposition in Unionist circles. In 1898, Colonel Waring, M.P. for North Down, died, and a bye-election took place on 8th September. The contest was between two Unionists, Mr. Corbett and Mr. Blakiston-Houston; the former supported by Dr. Kane, and the latter by Mr. William Johnston, M.P. Dr. Kane made a determined fight; and, although Mr. Corbett was defeated, the back of the Conservative caucus was broken. It was stated by Mr. Corbett that he had been approached by Mr. E. S. Finnegan, the Conservative and landlord election agent, and asked to hold the seat until Lord Castlereagh came of age. Mr. Blakiston-Houston proved a failure in the Commons, and at the next election Mr. Corbett was returned. The meetings held during the election were marked by a repetition of the democratic revolt of ’67, with this sad difference, that William Johnston, of Ballykilkeg, had turned his back on the workingmen, and was the ally of the “deadheads” and landlords, whom he had so vigorously denounced in his early career. Dr. Kane stood out for the rights of democracy, the freedom of electors, and the inalienable right of the constituents to select their own representatives. Up to this period the candidates were selected at caucus meetings, and Mr. E. S. Finnegan, the Conservative and landlord election agent, manipulated the wires in every Ulster constituency. The Reform Bills were inoperative in Protestant Ulster; and men like Captain Hill were allowed to cumber the ground, and make Ulster a by-word and laughing stock in the House of Commons. “Protestantism before party politics” was once more coming to the front as an intelligible Orange policy. In 1900, the Dublin Orangemen

revolted against "Balfourian amelioration," and defeated Mr. Horace Plunkett in South County Dublin. The motives which guided the Dublin Orangemen on that occasion may be gathered from the questions put to the candidates, and the resolutions passed by the Grand Lodge of Dublin. The questions were as follows:—

1. Do you go forward as an Independent Unionist, or as the nominee of the discredited Unionist Party?
2. Do you promise to vote for the Church Discipline Bill introduced by Mr. Austin Taylor, or other similar measure for the suppression of lawlessness in the Church of England?
3. Do you promise to vote against the establishment and endowment of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland?

The resolutions dealing with the election stated:—

"That we again place on record our determined opposition to Mr. Balfour's scheme for the establishment and endowment of a Roman Catholic University, as retrograde in principle, and opposed to modern thought and practice."

"That we condemn the Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government as a betrayal of Irish Unionists, who have done so much to place the present Executive in power; and we enter a vigorous protest against the appointments under the Irish Board of Agriculture, and against the mediæval policy of administering secular affairs through religious bodies, by which means the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is so largely endowed."

"That we pledge ourselves, by every means in our power, only to support Parliamentary candidates who will place Protestantism before Party."

The betrayal of Irish Unionists was met by the defeat of Messrs. Plunkett and Campbell in Dublin County and City, and led to the recall of Mr. Gerald Balfour, the Chief Secretary. The *Belfast News Letter* was once more on the side of the powers that be. After the announcement of Mr. Plunkett's defeat, the *News Letter* wrote:—

"The Unionists of Dublin have covered themselves with deep and indelible disgrace. First, Mr. James H. Campbell was defeated in Stephen's Green, and the seat handed over to the Nationalists by altogether unjustifiable abstentions; and now Mr. Horace Plunkett is defeated in South Dublin owing to a Unionist cabal of the most petty and despicable character. . . . Outside their own little narrow circle their conduct is looked upon as an act of insane folly, not only by Irish Unionists but by all Irishmen who have the real interests of the country at heart. . . . Mr. Plunkett has lost his seat, but those who opposed him have lost every rag of their political reputation. It will be a long while before they will rehabilitate themselves, but their victim shall soon again find himself a member of Parliament."

The Orange revolt against party ties which had led to the betrayal of Protestantism, and the determination to place Protestantism before party politics, found no favour in the eyes of the *News-Letter*; but this blindness to the trend of events was, as has been shown, a traditional weakness of this journal.

It suffices to say that the Earl of Erne, in the following year, bore public testimony to the righteousness of the Orange opposition to Mr. Plunkett in South County Dublin. The continued betrayal of Protestant interests was followed as in 1867 and 1880 by an outcry against the attitude of the Ulster representatives in Parliament; and so strong was this feeling that the Earl of Erne in his address to the Dublin Orangemen on July 12th, 1900, said:—

“When the present Government came in to office they were told that its policy was to kill Home Rule by kindness. They saw how this was being done. Mr. Balfour thought he knew more about Irish affairs than they did (hisses.) They saw that one of the originators [Mr. T. P. Gill] of the Plan of Campaign, that had wrought so much harm in this country, had been rewarded by being given an office under the Government (groans). The Government had alienated their friends and had not succeeded in reconciling their enemies. The Orange Order had great and noble traditions. They should not suffer these traditions to be dragged through the mire of party expediency.”

At the same meeting a resolution was passed—

“Condemning the Irish policy of the Government as a betrayal of Irish Unionists who had done so much to place the present Executive in power, and further stating that “We pledge ourselves by every means in our power only to support Parliamentary candidates who will place Protestantism before Party.”

The Ulster members took no heed to the warning; some of them were in office, while others were indebted to the Government for favours bestowed on friends. Despite the monster indignation meeting held in Dublin, to condemn the persecution of Dr. Long, and the base desertion by the Government of the Protestant minority, the Orange Grand Lodge of Belfast, presided over by Col. Saunderson, put the following as part of the resolutions before the Orangemen at the demonstration on 12th July, 1901, at Lambeg:—

“That we declare once more our earnest conviction that the security and prosperity of all classes in Ireland depend essentially upon the strict maintenance of its political union with Great Britain as established by the Act of Union. *That we have entire confidence in the determination of the present Unionist Government, and in the people of Great Britain to repel all efforts of the enemies of the Union to obtain its repeal, and we rejoice in the lengthened period of peace and prosperity enjoyed by our country under the Unionist administration.*”

Note the striking difference in resolutions and speeches on Orange platforms elsewhere.

On the same day, at Newry, 15,000 Orangemen being present, the following resolution was passed:—

“That we, the Orangemen of South Down, do hereby declare that we have lost confidence in Mr. A. J. Balfour for the part he has taken, in appointing a committee to inquire into University education, by appointing members who are in favour of a Roman Catholic University, and excluding

all that are against it, and we hereby declare we will do our utmost to prevent the endowment by the State out of the national exchequer of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland."

At the Dublin meeting, held in the Rotunda, on the same day, the Earl of Erne presiding, his lordship said:—

"Recent events had shown them the absolute necessity of keeping their organisation efficient and in perfect working order. Last year, when he had an opportunity of addressing them from that chair, he felt it his duty to make a few observations upon the treatment that the loyalists of Ireland had received from the Government of the day, and to call attention to the way in which the law of the League was gradually superseding the law of the land. Not very long after they met there, there ensued, as they knew, a general election. It was not his wish, nor his intention, to say one word which would in any way re-open the breach which was caused at that time—a breach which, he was happy to hear, had now been healed—but, in justification of the course pursued by them upon that occasion, he thought it necessary to draw attention to a few facts. They would remember that high legal luminaries came down and denounced with bell, book, and candle, those who had dared to stand up for the right of private judgment. They would recollect that one much respected nobleman, Lord Ardilaun, was held up to special odium. But they adhered to their course, and were fully justified by the result. The great part of public opinion in England, and the most influential organs of the Unionist party in the Press, had come round to their view of the matter. Judge O'Connor Morris said on 12th June last—"It is not part of my duty to read moral lectures, or to say a word about the Executive of the Government. I merely say I hope we will not hear that there is peace when there is no peace, and tranquillity when there is no tranquillity. Society in this county [Sligo] is in a dangerous state. Society is upside-down, and illegality has taken the place of law." The Earl of Erne, continuing, described the condition of affairs in Ireland as "a disgrace to civilisation. . . . Let the Government see to it, he said, that they did not end by killing loyalty by unkindness. . . . Let them (the Orangemen) bear in mind that they were the inheritors of a glorious trust, and of glorious traditions, and see that that trust was not tarnished, that these traditions were not impaired in their hands."

The resolution passed at the meeting was:—

"That the recrudescence of crime and outrage in Ireland, and the administration of the law at Limerick, Sligo, and elsewhere were traceable to the policy pursued by the Government during the past five years, and demanding for the 'Protestant minority' the free exercise of their civil and religious rights."

At Dundrum, Co. Down, Mr. William Johnston, M.P., presiding, the following resolution was passed:—

"That the recent manifestations of Papal intolerance in Limerick, and of the United Irish League in Sligo and elsewhere, disclose a state of things in Ireland of a most unsatisfactory character, and we, as Orangemen, determined to maintain the freedom of all loyal subjects of His Majesty, call upon the Government to give adequate protection to those whose liberties are interfered with by disloyal factionists, and to vindicate the right of free speech on the part of loyal Protestants throughout the whole of Ireland."

At Scotland, on the same day, at Eglington Castle, Grand Master William Young presiding, the latter warned the Govern-

ment not to be too proud of their large majority, but to take heed and look after the interests of Protestants in the South and West of Ireland.

Rev. R. W. Dobbie, who followed, said the Conservative Government in even daring to appoint a committee to consider the Declaration were acting in a traitorous manner towards the interests committed to their care.

Rev. J. W. Hodgkinson, speaking on the same subject, said that looking upon the Unionist party from a Protestant standpoint, they were not to be trusted, and the sooner they saw that they were not trusted the better.

This was in 1901. The conduct of the Government during the interval which elapsed between then and the 1902 celebration at Castlereagh, was not calculated to calm the indignant feelings of the Orangemen of Ulster. The Education Bill, the exemption of the Convent Laundries from the Workshops' Bill, and, finally, the proclamation of the Rostrevor meeting, by and with the tacit consent of the Ulster members, stirred once more the embers of '67, '80, and later memories of North Down. It was under these perplexing and adverse circumstances that Orangeism entered upon the anniversary celebration in 1902.



Chapter VI.—1902 and after.

As by general consent the immediate cause of the present disruption in the Orange ranks sprang out of the proceedings at Castle-reagh on July 12th, 1902, it is well to advert to the circumstances which led up to the alleged "breach of discipline" on that occasion. The defeat of the Government candidates in Dublin city and county at the preceding General Elections, and the resolutions passed at Orange and Protestant demonstrations throughout the country, condemnatory of the anti-Protestant trend of the Unionist programme, were symptoms of widespread dissatisfaction with the Government which it was dangerous for Ulster representatives in Parliament to ignore. Not only were these premonitory signs of the Irish Protestant revolt ignored by Col. Saunderson and his party, but they deliberately set themselves to the odious task of "justifying" the Government, and of supporting measures which were strongly opposed by Orangemen. The action of the Government in excluding convent laundries from the provisions of the Workshops' Bill was particularly commented on. *The Rock* published the division list, showing that Col. Saunderson had voted for the Government on the second reading. It was not then known that Col. Saunderson intended to deal with the clause affecting convents on the report stage. This did not excuse Col. Saunderson in the least, as it was his bounden duty to oppose the Bill, *on principle, at every stage*, while this obnoxious clause remained. Mr. Sloan, who was then leader of the *Belfast Protestant Association*, and keenly interested in these questions, asked in his District Orange Lodge if it were true that Col. Saunderson had voted for the exclusion of convent laundries from the Workshops' Bill, but the Master in the chair would not hear him, and ruled him out of order. He was afterwards asked at his trial why he did not then go to the next superior lodge, the Grand Lodge of Belfast, and put the question, to which Mr. Sloan replied that as the same man would, in the absence of Colonel Saunderson, preside in the Grand Lodge, he would also be ruled out of order there. At the trial in Armagh, a member asked — "Did you ever hear of such a question being put in a lodge before," and to which Bro. Hunt Chambre, who was in the chair, indignantly replied, "Of course we all have hundreds of times." It may be mentioned here that it is an invariable custom at meetings of the *Belfast Protestant Association* to permit of questions being put at the end of speeches, and the custom has much to recommend it to any intelligent, freedom loving cause. The neglect of parliamentary

duties on the part of Col. Saunderson and his followers was the subject of universal complaint; and Orange and Protestant opinion, regarding the betrayal of Protestant principles by the Government, was as marked as when Dr. Kane called the people to arms at Donacloney in 1880. The cup of iniquity was filled to overflowing when it was announced that the Orange demonstration at Rostrevor had been proclaimed. It was no longer possible to restrain public indignation.

This was the last blow of Unionist ingratitude, and the responsibility was rightly placed on the shoulders of the Ulster members, who had convinced the Government of their unwillingness and inability to interfere seriously in the course of Irish legislation and administration. Had not Col. Saunderson proved to his constituents on several occasions that it would be criminal folly to vote against the Government on any measure, however iniquitous, so long as they remained true to the Union? But the Orangemen were not prepared for the defence of the Irish Executive, and the condemnation of the Earl of Erne, Imperial Grand Master, which followed at Castlereagh. Speaking afterwards at Portadown, Col. Saunderson admitted that the men of Ulster were "justly exasperated" at that time.

Colonel Saunderson arrived very late on the platform at Castlereagh, and during the interval of waiting in a heavy down-pour of rain, there were strong protests made by leading Orangemen as to the Colonel's conduct in delaying the proceedings. Some of the speakers actually left the platform, and one Grand Chaplain expressed his intention in forcible terms of dealing with the Colonel's conduct in Grand Lodge. When the Colonel eventually commenced the meeting, he at once challenged opposition by assuming the role of protector of the Government for their action in proclaiming the Rostrevor meeting, and he further committed the breach of that discipline, which he afterwards charged so publicly against others, in holding his superior officer, the Earl of Erne, responsible for the proclamation. The Colonel said:—

"It did strike one as strange that any effort should be made on the part of the authorities to prevent a meeting in Ulster of the loyal Orangemen, representing as they did the great loyal organisation of this country—an organisation to which Great Britain owed a lasting debt of gratitude. At the same time perhaps it might be as well to tell them exactly how the circumstances stood. A bogus meeting was summoned, he understood, composed of the riff-raff and bob-tail from the mountains round Rostrevor, headed by the parish priest. Owing to their representations (A Voice 'Why was that not said in the House of Commons?') He was asked why that was not said in the House of Commons, well because, if it was, he would be called to order, and if he did not retract he would be put out. He wanted them to understand how the matter stood. When those representations were made to the Government, Mr. Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland (hooting) sent for the Earl of Erne, Imperial Grand Master, and for Lord Arthur Hill, who he thought was known to them all (hear, hear). Mr.

Wyndham asked them what their opinion was, and the Earl of Erne and Lord Arthur Hill said they thought the meeting ought not to take place. They would see, therefore, that Mr. Wyndham was not acting altogether off his own bat (A Voice, 'Well, it is a shame.') . . . He understood since, that a meeting at Warrenpoint was permitted, and he could not see why a meeting should be stopped at Rostrevor and allowed at Warrenpoint. He did not see any sense in that action, but it would be quite a mistake if they imagined that Mr. Wyndham was hostile to them (A Voice, 'We don't imagine it: we know it!—and cheers.) They were quite wrong. He believed they would find that Mr. Wyndham and his Government at the present moment were quite ready to sympathise with them though they had made that mistake. At any rate, he (Mr. Wyndham) would have an opportunity in the House of Commons of explaining his action and justifying it if he could. . . . Referring to the war in South Africa and to Home Rule, the Colonel continued,—he would like to know what the position of this country would have been in facing that great war if they had had Home Rule for Ireland (A Voice, 'Very little worse than what we are ') . . . Before he came away from London, he went down to the House of Commons and he took a copy of the oath which every member of Parliament had to take before he took his seat. Every Home Rule member had taken that oath. . . . The Colonel said a traitor was bad enough, but a perjured traitor was to his mind the worst animal they could find (cheers and voices, 'What about the inspection of convent laundries; 'What about the Education Bill.') . . . Altogether he (the Colonel) thought they, as Orangemen, had every reason to be satisfied with the position of affairs (cries of 'No!' and 'Rostrevor') . . . If they lived another four or five years they would see great measures brought into Parliament (A Voice, 'Aye, if we put in men to do it.')

The daily press reports stated:—

"Just as Colonel Saunderson was concluding his speech a member of the audience immediately in front of the platform asked the Right Hon. gentleman if he would answer a question, and on his replying to the effect that it was not usual to answer questions on such occasions, several of the other members of the crowd called for replies. Rev. W. H. A. Lee rose to propose the first resolution, but the section of the audience which had demanded an answer from Colonel Saunderson, would not allow Mr. Lee to proceed, and drowned his voice by their clamorous calls. Bro. Henry Seaver, seconded the resolution, but only got through a few sentences of his speech, when, in consequence of the continued disorder and interruptions, he desisted from speaking. Ultimately, Mr. Thomas Sloan, of the *Belfast Protestant Association*, a member of the audience wearing the insignia of his office as W.M. of the Orange Institution, was hoisted up on to the platform amid cheers, and was asked to use his influence to restore order.

"Mr. Lee, turning round to Mr. Sloan, observed 'this is an organised affair.'

"Mr. Sloan—Until our brother apologises for declaring that this is organised I will strongly object to this meeting proceeding (cheers).

"Mr. Lee—I withdraw the expression, but I don't apologise.

"Mr. Sloan—I have got permission to ask a question and I want you to understand before I ask it that I do not hold myself in anyway responsible for the indignation that has been loyally shown here to-day. I don't believe there are twelve men here who knew the step I was going to take, and if the speeches had been consistent with the practice of our principles, I should never have made any remarks. I am going to ask the question and will then go away. There is a brother here from Dublin to speak, and I don't want to be understood that we are antagonistic to men who do their duty. I want to know if it is a fact that you, Colonel

Saunderson, a Grand Master of the Orange Institution in Belfast, voted against the clause for the inspection of Convent Laundries going into the Laundry Bill (cheers).

"Colonel Saunderson—'It is absolutely untrue' (cheers).

"Mr. Sloan—'Then, if that is absolutely untrue, the Press that are present are liars. (To the audience) - Now listen, there is a brother from Dublin to speak, and I shall ask you to listen to him, and as loyal men accept the truth and obey the laws of the Orange Institution and be orderly at this meeting (cheers).'

The *News-Letter* stated that:—

"The programme was then proceeded with without further interruption."

Of so little account was this interruption regarded that no mention whatever was made of the incident in the leading article of the *News-Letter* on the following day. On the contrary the *News-Letter* backed up the action of Brother Sloan indirectly when it stated in its leading article:—

"We take it that the gallant Colonel (Saunderson) spoke not only as County Grand Master of Belfast, but also as leader of the Irish Unionist party in the House of Commons, and that the party, therefore, are pledged to find an early opportunity of challenging the Chief Secretary. It really is time the Irish Unionist members asserted themselves a little more than they have been in the habit of doing, and gave voice to the causes of dissatisfaction which the majority of Irish Unionists have with the action of the Government in many Irish affairs."

How different was the tone of the speeches and resolutions on other platforms, compared with Col. Saunderson's lame defence of the Government.

At Ballynahinch on the same day, with the late William Johnston, M.P., presiding for the last time at an Orange demonstration, a resolution was passed declaring—

"That a Government which shows the white feather in the face of organised disloyalty, and has refused to protect loyal men in the exercise of their legal rights, has forfeited the confidence and is unworthy of the support of the Unionists of Ireland. This meeting further calls on the Unionist members of Ulster to withhold their support from the present Government except on questions which affect the Unionist cause."

Speaking to this resolution, Canon Pooler referred to the proclamation of the Rostrevor meeting.

"They were told—he believed Mr. Wyndham said it in the House of Commons—that after consulting with some of the leaders of the Orangemen, he determined to proclaim the meeting at Rostrevor. He wanted to know who the leaders of the Orangemen were (hear, hear: that is the question to answer.) He could tell them one man who was not one of them: that was Bro. William Johnston, of Ballykilbeg. He thought it right to know the leaders of the Orangemen who did such a thing, because, he said openly on that platform, that the men that did it would not be his leaders in the future, and that they should be required to send in their resignations. (Hear, hear, and "That is right.")" Referring to the Government, Canon Pooler concluded his speech in these words:—"There is not a man among them all whom they could vote for except the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. (Loud cheers)"

At Lurgan, in Col. Saunderson's own constituency, Bro. James Malcolm, jun., speaking to a resolution condemning the action of the Government in proclaiming the Rostrevor meeting, said:—

"Both meetings were proclaimed by a Unionist Government, which really meant that the men whom they had returned to Parliament to represent their interests had simply taken the legs from under their bodies by putting the loyalists of Ireland on a par with the disloyalists. ('Shame!'; and 'We won't have it.') If that was the way they were going to be treated by the Unionist members of Parliament, the sooner they made changes the better. ('Hear, hear.') A good Roman Catholic was worth a dozen half-hearted Protestants, and a good Unionist was worth a hundred half-hearted Unionists."

Bro. W. J. Allen, supporting the resolution, said:—

"The elections would come again, and he believed many held the opinion of a gentleman who said the other day that if there was an election in the division he would vote for the Liberal instead of the Unionist. They had almost come to that. They, Orangemen, did not belong particularly to any Government; they did not belong to the Unionist Government; they did not belong to the Liberal Government; they were a Government unto themselves so far as their principles were concerned. They did belong to the Government that would maintain Protestant principles, which they respected, loved, honoured and revered, and they would vote for the men, whether they be Unionist or Liberal, who would maintain those principles. (Cheers.)

Speaking at the Dublin meeting, held on 15th July, 1902, Rev. J. C. Irwin said:—

"The Balfourian policy of amelioration had been a pandering to the lowest instincts of an ill-disposed mob, and they who had got to live in this country, and to be loyal to the sovereign and his throne, were called upon to bear with patience and long-suffering the sad effects of mistaken statesmanship."

Rev. William Maguire, who seconded the resolution, said:—

"If the Government did not cry halt, some of its leaders would have to be looking out for their seats in the North of Ireland (loud applause), for their leaders from Ireland would have to speak out distinctly and make themselves felt, so that they would at least know that their representatives were true to their principles (applause). They were not satisfied with regard to their action latterly. They were not feeling at ease. There was nothing else for it. If these men would not do their work in the British House of Commons, they must take a holiday (cheers)."

The third clause of the resolution proposed by the Rev. J. C. Irwin was:—

"That the recrudescence of crime and outrage in Ireland, and the administration of the law at Limerick, Sligo, and elsewhere, being traceable to the policy pursued by his Majesty's Government during the past six years, and so forcibly denounced by us at the General Election in South County Dublin and Stephen's Green, we call upon Irish Unionist representatives to press on the attention of Parliament the deplorable consequences of Balfourian amelioration, and the unjust and unconstitutional action of the Irish Executive in proclaiming the meeting of loyal Orangemen at Rostrevor, and to demand for the Protestant minority in Ireland the free exercise of their rights, both civil and religious."

Rev. Canon O'Connor, speaking on the same occasion, said:—

"He called upon the laity to be watchful. He wanted to see the Orange Association wipe out the Protestant Thousand, and all other such societies. That day would come, the moment that the Protestants of Ireland recognised that the Orange Association had aroused itself to pursue its true ideal—the maintenance of Protestantism in its fullest sense—not mere political Protestantism, though that was not to be slighted, but Protestantism in its purity of doctrine, moral and spiritual."

No further notice was taken of Bro. Sloan's action at Castlereagh; he was not charged by his lodge, or by the Grand Lodge, for "breach of discipline"; and the incident would probably have been forgotten had not the death of Mr. William Johnston, M.P., on the 17th July, precipitated a parliamentary contest in South Belfast. Mr. Sloan was invited to contest the seat by the workingmen of the constituency, to whom he was known as a Christian and temperance worker, and as offering qualifications for the seat more strictly in accordance with the spirit of 1868 than could be discovered in the candidates suggested by the Conservative Association. A landlord candidate, after the traditional Ulster Tory type condemned so vigorously by Dr. Kane, was selected by the Conservative Association; and a campaign of unparalleled bitterness and intolerance was instituted against Mr. Sloan's candidature. The Dublin Orange men, following up their own action at the General Elections, passed resolutions supporting Mr. Sloan. The Grand Lodge of Belfast met on the 13th of August, five days before the poll, with Colonel Saunderson in the chair, when the following resolution was passed, and, contrary to Law 10, ordered to be published:—

(1.) "The Grand Lodge of Belfast strongly condemns the action of Bro. T. H. Sloan on the 12th of July last, and calls on the Orange Brethren of South Belfast to show their resentment at the public insult offered to their Grand Master, the Right Hon. Colonel Saunderson, M.P., on that occasion by Bro. Sloan, by refusing to elect him to represent their Division in the Imperial Parliament." (2.) "That the County Grand Orange Lodge of Belfast earnestly supports the candidature of Bro. Charles W. Dunbar-Buller for the representation of the South Parliamentary Division of Belfast rendered vacant by the lamented death of our esteemed brother, William Johnston, and we hereby recommend every brother Orangeman, and all true Loyalists, to work and vote for the duly-selected Conservative candidate, coming, as he does, before them in a constitutional way, and being the nominee of the only recognised association. We wish further to state emphatically our strong disapproval of the conduct of the party who, calling themselves Loyalists, have endeavoured to forbid the constitutional candidate the liberty of stating his views to the electors."

Private Lodges 818, 1026, 1088, 731, 700, and St. Aidan's Temperance Lodge, all of Belfast, passed resolutions in support of Bro. Sloan. The latter, as in 1868 and 1880, when William Johnston and Dr. Kane stood out for democratic representation, was opposed by the monied and landed gentry; but he defeated his opponent by 826 votes, and humiliated the Grand

Lodge of Belfast and the Conservative Association. It was a fight for the supremacy of Orangeism in an Orange constituency, and for the rights of Democracy in a pre-eminently democratic division; and the triumph of 1868 was once again repeated. The *Belfast News-Letter* was particularly aggressive—just as in 1868—and when the poll was announced it wrote in much the same strain as it did after Mr. Horace Plunkett's defeat in Dublin. In a leading article, it declared that "Belfast was humiliated."

The leaders of the Conservative Association were also leaders in the Grand Lodge of Belfast, and the humiliating defeat which they had suffered at the hands of Mr. Sloan could not be allowed to pass unavenged. It will be noticed that, in the resolution passed on the 13th August, "condemning the action of Mr. Sloan and his supporters at Castlereagh," the only punishment suggested was his defeat at the hands of the Orangemen of South Belfast. The Orange vote in South Belfast went dead against Col. Saunderson and his followers in the Grand Lodge, and the verdict on the polling day was the verdict of Orange democracy once more regarding the incompetency of the leaders in Parliament, and in the Grand Lodge. Nothing of note transpired until the 15th October following, when Col. Saunderson addressed his constituents at Portadown. He stated that:—

"On the 12th of July last he, in the character of the Grand Master of Belfast—there was no question of Colonel Saunderson—went to that great demonstration, perhaps the largest ever held. When he got to the field the crowd had assembled round the platform, and when he got up he observed that very few of them had on Orange sashes, and the meeting was continually interrupted in the rudest and most outrageous way. Then Mr. Sloan appeared on the scene and he was put upon the platform, and when he took the chair at the meeting he took that occasion to grossly and personally insult himself (Col. Saunderson). . . . How would they carry on the discipline of an army if a private came out from the ranks and called his colonel a liar on parade? Why, all discipline would go. What happened on that occasion? Mr. Sloan accused him (the Colonel) and that accusation astonished him more than anything he had ever heard before—on the platform that he (Colonel Saunderson) had voted against the inclusion of nuns' laundries in inspection. If he had accused him of becoming a Jesuit it would not have been so absurd, and he (the Colonel) really believed that if Mr. Sloan went about Ulster and said that Colonel Saunderson was a Jesuit a considerable number—and in Belfast certainly—would believe him. He objected altogether to Mr. Sloan's programme, and he mentioned him because he dared to represent a certain Orange opinion. . . . If Mr. Sloan was not an Orangeman he (the Colonel) could say nothing about it; but, in the first instance, they would all agree if that gentleman had anything to say against him the platform on the 12th of July was not the place to make it. He had every opportunity to bring the matter up before the Grand Lodge of the district and make his complaint before them about him (the Colonel) as a member of Parliament—he had a perfect right to do that—but no Orangeman, if he intended to preserve the organisation, has any right to get up and insult the Grand Master of his own district."

Col. Saunderson was altogether wrong in comparing the

Orangeman to a soldier. In the one case the Orangeman is sworn to use his brains and intellect in the cause; in the other, he is not allowed to think, except through his officer, and the result was seen in the disasters in South Africa.

Speaking on a later date at Lurgan, he stated:—

“That the Belfast demonstration on the 12th July was practically broken up, and he was publicly insulted on the platform by Mr. Sloan. Now, he would not have cared twopence if Mr. Sloan had not been an Orangeman. He did not care a straw about Mr. Sloan calling him a liar or anything else; but what he did care was that Mr. Sloan, as an Orangeman, should call his Grand Master a liar on the public platform. Why was that done? He ventured to say that Mr. Sloan never made a greater mistake in his life. He had a perfect right to come forward as a workingman to represent the workingmen of South Belfast, and as such he (Colonel Saunderson) and his colleagues would have given him a most cordial welcome. But something more was necessary for Mr. Sloan. Mr. Sloan wanted to boss the show; he wanted to upset the organisation that existed in Belfast that he might come out on top. Otherwise it could not be conceived why he should choose the occasion of the 12th July to publicly insult his Grand Master. But what was to happen? The Grand Lodge were, so far as he knew, going to try this case at the end of this month. They had got two courses open to them. They might, if they liked, pass it over and do nothing, in which case he (Colonel Saunderson) ventured to say, so far as Belfast Orangeism was concerned, that it was falling crumbling to the dust. On the other hand, they might, if they believed in maintaining the authority of the officers and the Order, try the case, and if they did not receive a satisfactory explanation from Mr. Sloan in his capacity as an Orangeman they could say he had no right any longer to belong to the Belfast District.”

Had Col. Saunderson forgotten the speeches which had been delivered in Lurgan, on the occasion of which he complained—the speeches of Bro. James Malcolm, jun., and Bro. W. J. Allen, quoted on page 52.

An Orangeman is not a militiaman, to be commandeered, and used as a machine, but an intelligent, living, self-contained unit, who, in his *individual*, as well as in his corporate, capacity, is called upon to act intelligently and conscientiously, as light has been given to him.

That Col. Saunderson's speeches were inspired there can be no doubt, for on the 17th October, Bro. Sloan received the following summons:—

Clifton Street Orange Hall, Belfast,
17th October, 1902.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,—I am instructed by the County Grand Lodge of Belfast to inform you that a charge has been preferred against you for conduct unbecoming an Orangeman on the 12th July last, by interrupting the proceedings at the platform, and insulting the Right Hon. Col. Saunderson, M.P. (Grand Master), and that the charge will be investigated at the monthly meeting of the Grand Lodge on Wednesday evening, 29th October. You are hereby summoned to attend at the above-mentioned meeting in answer to the charge.—I am, yours fraternally,

WM. WILSON WALSHE, Grand Secretary.

Thos. H. Sloan, Esq., M.P., House of Commons, London.

Mr. Sloan replied :—"I have written to the County Grand Lodge Secretary, informing him that I am quite prepared to meet the summons, provided the County Grand Lodge will pay my expenses from London, otherwise I must ask for an adjournment until I am released from my Parliamentary duties, and prepared to fix a date, which will, of course, be as early as possible, for nobody can be more anxious than I that the facts of the case should be fully revealed." The hon. gentleman went on to say that one of the charges against him was that he called Colonel Saunderson a liar. "I have already denied that I did so," said Mr. Sloan. "The Grand Master complains that I did not take a legal course against him. He is in error there. I took the legal course in the month of February last, when I was denied by the Deputy-Grand Master any right to demand an explanation from Colonel Saunderson of his vote with the Nationalists for the omission of the clause which included convent laundries in the operation of the Factories Bill."

The belated charge of "interrupting the proceedings at the platform, and insulting the Grand Master" was finally changed to one of "conduct unbecoming an Orangeman;" as it was clearly seen that the charge of insulting the Grand Master could not be sustained on any reasonable grounds. Mr. Sloan was tried by the Grand Lodge of Belfast, when he expressed verbally his regret if he had inadvertently exceeded constitutional bounds. It was necessary, however, to discredit Mr. Sloan in the eyes of the public, and he was accordingly told that if he *wrote* an apology his suspension would not be carried out. This indignity by men who were the ringleaders of the opposition to him in South Belfast, was naturally rejected. Mr. Sloan was a public man, and had the honour of others in his keeping. Had he made an abject *written* apology his career as the representative of the Orange democracy in Parliament would have been discounted. He appealed to the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland against his suspension, and the decision of the subordinate Lodge was upheld. Those who were his accusers and judges in Belfast—the followers of Mr. Dunbar-Buller—were his accusers and judges also in the Grand Lodge at Armagh, and they were well supported by Col. Saunderson's friends in North Armagh. Election agents, solicitors, and other men who benefit by elections, were all there, and the "trial" was admitted by some who differed from Mr. Sloan to be a gross travesty of justice. One member of the Grand Lodge called Mr. Sloan a "cur"; others sneered and ridiculed, and passed comments, on every answer he made; and the whole performance was a sickening exhibition of intolerance which was a disgrace to the name of Orangeism. To their lasting disgrace, be it said, the interests of peace found not a single advocate among the Grand Chaplains. Like their prototypes of old, they all with one accord cried—"Away with him!" The private Lodges which had passed resolutions congratulating Mr. Sloan on his victory in South Belfast were summarily tried and deprived of their warrants for doing so; and all who, in any way, were identified with him were tried and expelled. Mr.

Sloan, as representing great principles which had been fought out in Belfast in 1868, and in North Down at a more recent date, deserved the loyal support of every true Orangeman; and the question no longer was, "Dare I commit a breach of discipline?" but "Dare I support the Grand Lodge in their tyrannical and arbitrary administration of the law?" It was no longer a question of organisation or of discipline, but a question of conscience and of first principles. Every great reform of note has been carried out by a "breach" of law and order—a breach of discipline! Martin Luther's revolt against the Church of Rome—once pure and apostolic; the revolt of Wycliffe, and Knox, and William III., and the heroes of the Glorious Revolution; the revolt of the Apprentice Boys; of John Wesley; of John Kensit;—these all broke the existing laws,—were guilty of breaches of discipline, treason, schism! but who will cast the first stone? It is easy to moralise on questions of law and order, and of discipline, but there are occasions when the dictates of conscience conflict with law and order, and when the God-given right of private judgment cannot be cribb'd and cabin'd and confined in a cast-iron system which offers no higher plea for obedience than discipline to organised authority. But even in respect of the organised authority of the Grand Lodge, it is obsolete and antiquated, and can no longer claim obedience on the ground of being a representative assembly. While the State has extended the franchise, the Orange Institution—the boasted repository of civil and religious liberty—is in a worse position, from a representative standpoint, than it was in 1828—before the first Reform Bill. Constitution and laws rarely trouble anyone much until some circumstances arise which set the laws in motion. It was so in the Orange Institution. The constitution of that body was a survival of the days of the pocket borough, and of the limited franchise. Men had not yet emerged into the full light of liberty and citizenship. The State had since then extended the franchise, but the Orange Institution still preserved its obsolete code of laws. It was like putting new wine into an old bottle. In the Grand Lodge of Ireland there are fifty-three deputy masters, fifty-one chaplains, and thirteen officers who are practically, as *ex-officio* members, permanent fixtures, and over whom no subordinate lodge, either county, district, or private, has any control. In addition, there are thirty-eight of the Grand Committee, who are elected by the County Grand Lodges, and over whom subordinate lodges have absolutely no control. The whole system is obsolete and antiquated. The *personnel* of the County and Grand Lodges has, in large measure, undisturbed possession, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland is, therefore, in no sense a representative body.* But Orangemen would even have put up with this obsolete bureaucracy

*No change has since taken place in the obsolete Constitution of the parent Order.

had it shown an earnest desire to protect Protestant interests, and actively propagate the doctrines of the Protestant religion.

It was impossible in the face of the unrepresentative character of the Grand Lodge to effect reform from within. All attempts at reform were doomed to disappointment, in face of such a dead weight of landlordism and clericalism in the Grand Lodge. Reform was rendered still more impossible from within by the ejection of the reformers. The Independent Orange Institution was, therefore, formally established on the Plains, Belfast, on 11th June, 1903, and now numbers 55 lodges in active operation. This movement differs in many respects from previous reforms of the kind, but chiefly in that it recognises the futility of carrying reforms in an unrepresentative assembly, and aims at establishing Orangeism on a true democratic, representative basis, in which every office will be elective, open to all considered worthy, irrespective of rank or position.

It has been stated that Mr. Sloan appealed to the Unionist Party to admit him to its ranks, and that he was first called upon to apologise to Colonel Saunderson for his action at Castlereagh. Needless to say, the rumour, like many others, is devoid of truth.

The Independent Orange Institution having passed so successfully through its infantile stages, it may be interesting and instructive at this juncture to review the past history of Orangeism, and the principles which underlie the Independent movement.



Chapter VII.—Conclusion.

The Independent Orange Institution being now established, it may well be asked—By what moral right does it continue to exist as a schismatic body? The same moral right which is still claimed for the Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the right which placed William III. on the Throne of England; the right which the followers of John Wesley claimed to separate from the parent stem. No one with the history of the past before him will maintain that disunion and divisions are in themselves, without exception, wrong. “Come out of her, my people, and be ye separate,”! is a call to division between right and wrong, which every individual conscience must answer for itself. If a number of men believe that the principles of Orangeism are defaced and overlaid in the old Institution, have they not high sanction and precedent for coming out and being separate? When to this is added the fact that those who formed the Independent Order were driven out of the parent Institution arbitrarily and by unconstitutional means, it cannot be seriously contended in this enlightened Twentieth Century that they have no longer the right to associate in the name of him whose colours they wear, and to whose principles—both religious and constitutional—they are attached? If, therefore, it cannot be denied that the Independent Institution has a right to exist and to be tolerated as a Protestant organisation, what principles are involved in the continued separation of the two bodies professing to hold the same creed? Are there any serious obstacles to a re-union of the Orange forces? To appreciate accurately the differences which now separate Orangemen, it is necessary to take a brief review of the past history of Orangeism as set out in the foregoing chapters. Orangeism, as originally established, had, as its basis, great religious and constitutional principles. When the Emancipation Act had passed, and the door of Parliament was opened to Roman Catholics, the Orange Institution failed to realise the effect which the influence of Roman Catholic votes would exercise on the remaining bulwarks of the Protestant Constitution of these realms; and, while the Roman Catholics aimed at creating a centre party, holding the balance of power between parties, the principles of Orangeism continued to be represented in the House of Commons by the lords of the soil, and by place-hunting lawyers. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that when in 1867, the second great attack on the Constitution was made in Ireland, the Orange Institution found itself in

the throes of Government proscription and prosecutions, and deserted and betrayed by its political leaders in Parliament. The Reform Bill of 1867 was not intended by the landed gentry to take effect in Ulster, but the Orange democracy of South Belfast insisted on the full exercise of their constitutional rights, and returned Mr. William Johnston as the Orange democratic representative to Parliament. But nothing further was done, and the movement for direct Orange representation in the Commons fell through. In 1880 the events of '67 and '68 were repeated anew, and Dr. Kane made another attempt to secure Orange representation in Parliament. The great events which succeeded, and the sudden, and not altogether disinterested, conversion of the Ulster landlords and "deadheads" to Orangeism, upset his plans; and since then it is no uncommon thing to find aspiring candidates for Parliamentary honours extending their patronage to Orangeism, as offering the line of least resistance to their election and promotion. But while these men are nominally Orangemen, they have no real sympathy with the religious principles of the Order, and have successfully maintained the Orange Institution as the pocket borough of the Tory party. The North Down election occurred at a time when the comparative calm of Irish politics enabled Orangeism once more to assert its principles. Dr. Kane was impelled to deal a death-blow at "deadheadism," but he was opposed by the very man who, in '67, had led the revolt,—Mr. William Johnston—who had long since gone over to the landlord and clerical party, and was one of the main props of that Conservatism which he had so vigorously denounced in his earlier life. Dr. Kane had once more opened the eyes of the Orange democracy, and paved the way to the revolt of the Dublin Orangemen, and later to the revolt in South Belfast. There is nothing in the action of Mr. Sloan, or in his return to Parliament, inconsistent with the democratic movement which followed the Reform Bill of '67, and which was later championed by Dr. Kane. The Castlereagh incident and the Orange revolt in South Belfast, are a natural sequence of events, which finds justification in the past history of Orangeism. Much capital has been made of the necessity for discipline. Party discipline was first challenged by William Johnston and Dr. Kane; and the latter it was who invented the expressive title of "*deadhead*" for those incompetent leaders in Ulster who subordinated Protestantism to the exigencies of the Tory party. Again in South Belfast, following a precedent set it by William Johnston of Ballykilbeg, the electors refused to be bound by the disciplinary laws of those who ruled the destinies of Orangeism through the Belfast Conservative Association. The question at issue was—Shall Orangeism or Conservatism guide the Orangeman in the exercise of the franchise? Shall an organisation

presided over by the Duke of Norfolk, and including in its ranks Cardinal Vaughan, direct and control the Orange vote?

The Independent Order is not the growth of a day. It is not the creation of individuals; it is the outcome of the same spirit of individual liberty which brought William III. to the Throne, and sealed for the nation the Protestant Constitution. There are two great principles for which the Independent Orange Order stands—the paramount claims of Protestantism in every electoral contest, and the formation of an *Independent Protestant Parliamentary Party*. The unholy alliance between Orangeism and Toryism has been marked by the betrayal of Protestantism, and the promotion on every possible occasion of the power and influence of the Church of Rome. The whole English-speaking world has rung with the dastardly intents of the *Catholic Association*; the Solicitor-General for Ireland has denounced it as a “conspiracy”; but the present Government, in which the Orangemen of Belfast last July unanimously expressed “unabated confidence,” took no notice of the persecution of Protestants in this country. The Orange Institution has submerged its principles and its individuality in the Unionist party; Orange representatives have supported the Priests’ Education Bill, the Licensing Bill, and the South African Slave Trade Bill; and when the Protestants of Ulster look for a grant for Bann Drainage or Higher Education, the Government ignore the claim. What is the present position of Irish Protestantism in the House of Commons? Mr. Craig, M.P., supplies the answer in a letter to the *Belfast News Letter*:—

“I cannot conceive anything more humiliating and unsatisfactory,” says Mr. Craig, “than the position in which the (Irish Unionist) party has stood for some time, and more especially since the debate on the Irish Development Grant.”

Was not this a complete vindication of the action of the men who resented the Rostrevor proclamation, and who refused to subordinate their principles, as Orangemen, to the cast-iron discipline of an organisation that had ceased to have any guiding influence in political life apart from Conservatism; and which, in the words of the member for South Antrim, is at present, through its Parliamentary representatives, in a “*humiliating and unsatisfactory position?*”

If we turn to the religious principles of Orangeism, the Independent attitude is still more justified, in the Orange support accorded the iniquitous Education Bill; and the sacerdotal and ritualistic tendencies of the Grand Chaplains who occupy such an anomalous position in the Grand Lodge. The cross of the cruel Inquisition, and the graven image of the Holy Face which adorn Belfast’s new Cathedral, are ominous signs of the

decadence of Reformation principles in Orange circles. Case after case might be cited to prove that the Orange Institution, which was established for the maintenance of Protestant principles in Church and State, is but the handmaid of landlordism and clericalism, and that to a degree which shuts out of view the original purposes of the Order.

If Ritualism be rampant in Ireland to-day, it is due to those who hold high office in the Orange Order. If the Protestant farmer has been forced to emigrate and hand over his homestead to a Roman Catholic, it is largely the work of the Orange and Tory landlords, who in the past endeavoured to placate the farmer by *inoperative Orange resolutions*; and who, to-day, stand athwart the path of national progress, barring the way to the complete realization of the Land Acts and Reform Acts by the Orange democracy of Ulster. If the British Government have betrayed the Irish Protestant minority, and regarded the Orange Institution as the pocket borough of Toryism, it is due to the Orange leaders whose address is Carlton Club! The history of Orangeism since its modern establishment in 1795, reveals a continual struggle by the rank and file for a practical application of the principles of Orangeism to the problems which every day come up for consideration and solution.

The principles of the Reformation, which bind Orangemen together, cannot be allowed to remain in abeyance because some Grand Chaplains do not believe them. Every attack on the Protestant religion, from whatever quarter, and in whatever Church, is an attack on Orange principles, and must be determinedly resisted. But it has, over and over again, been laid down by leaders in the Grand Lodge of the parent Order, that the Orange Lodge "is not the place for the discussion of Ritualism," etc. So strong has this feeling been in recent years, that a motion was tabled by a Belfast Grand Lodge officer to remove the headquarters of Orangeism from Dublin to Belfast; and the strong reason advanced on that occasion was that the Dublin brethren had made themselves a nuisance by introducing *contentious questions*—ritualism, etc. It is safe to say that a majority of the Grand Chaplains support the S.P.G.—a Romanising society and that the spread of ritualism and sacerdotalism in Ireland finds in them few champions of the Reformation. Landlords and clergy men have used the Institution in the past to further their own ends; and the result is writ large in the betrayal and weakening of Protestantism in both Church and State. When the recent Triennial Council of the Orange Institution—with delegates from the States and Colonies—was held in Dublin, it was generally thought that an opportunity was offered for advancing the cause

of Orangeism. In previous years, the Imperial Council was a close borough, delegates from the Grand Lodge of Ireland only attending. Previous to the last meeting, County Grand Lodges were apprised by the American officers that the representation had been widened to admit of delegates from the County. This extension of the Orange franchise, initiated by the democratic brethren in the United States and Canada, was strongly opposed by the crusted Tories of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. William Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, boldly announced that, as the officer for County Down Grand Lodge, he had torn up the communication, and refused to bring it before the Lodge, as it was *unconstitutional to enlarge the representation* in the manner indicated. Belfast Grand Lodge seemed to have a very remote conception of what the Council was, and wrote declining to attend, as they could not see their way to assist Dublin in the matter! County Antrim and other counties were similarly disfranchised, by the arbitrary conduct of men who were in no sense representative of Orange opinion on the important point in question. Others raised awkward questions regarding the status of Orangemen from the United States, and put difficulties in the way which prejudiced the success of the Council. If Orangeism in Ireland were leavened with the free and progressive spirit of the Order in America, all would be well. The principles of Orangeism are not antagonistic, but conducive, to the fullest measure of civil and religious liberty. The Orange organisation in Ireland is antagonistic to individual liberty, and bars the way to the full exercise of rights long since conceded by the State. The old Orange Institution still lingers on the banks of the Boyne; the Independent Institution lives and breathes in the atmosphere of the Twentieth Century! What is to be the future of Orangeism in Ireland? Will it continue to merge its aims and principles in the stock-pot of Toryism; or, as an independent factor in British politics, command the respectful consideration of the party in power, whether Liberal or Tory? Time alone can tell; but in the Independent Orange Institution are to be found the germs not only of vitality, but of progress and continuity. The principles of Orangeism are universal and eternal; they embody imperishable truths which apply, primarily, to the British Empire—in their religious aspect, the principles of the Reformation; in their Constitutional aspect, the principles of the Glorious Revolution. But, as well, and not inferior in point of importance, the principles of Orangeism are the basis of all true human effort, and of national progress and prosperity.

The curtain which has been lifted in the preceding chapters, reveals the fact that the establishment of the Independent Orange Institution was a logical sequence of the reform movement of past years; and that the Reformed Order, in its separate existence, offers more favourable opportunities for the completion of the work begun in '67, and continued at

intervals in every decade down to the present time. The parent Institution must return to first principles, and adapt its Constitution and Laws to the necessities of modern times before a basis of re-union can be established. Every officer and every member of superior lodges must be elective, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland must be a *representative assembly*, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, before it can claim to speak in the name of organised Orangeism, or command implicit obedience to its authority. The religious and constitutional principles of Orangeism must once more take precedence of the claims of party, and the Institution be what it professes—a *fraternal organisation*—an Orange Democracy.

If the principles of Orangeism are not known to Protestants, it must be because they are not yet fully realized by Orangemen. The brethren of the Independent Order have a great cause and a righteous creed. The history of Orangeism points plainly the path of reform. In that path there is room for every man, whatever his station and rank, who is “attached to the religion of the Reformation,” and determined to maintain the Protestant Throne and Constitution of these realms. In that path also lies the way to the honourable reconciliation of the conflicting interests of labour and capital, which, in the past have retarded the growth and influence of Orangeism, and impeded the progress of the people. But above and beyond all else, true Orangeism is a great Christian and civilising force; which, if rightly understood and applied, may in years to come be a powerful factor in our national life—softening the acerbity of religious and political strife, while steadfastly resisting the encroachments of the Papacy; leading Irish Roman Catholics to realize that in the maintenance of the principles of the Reformation and of the Revolution lies the strongest guarantee of liberty—civil and religious—principles that make for individual and national progress, and for the happiness and prosperity of all classes of the people.



